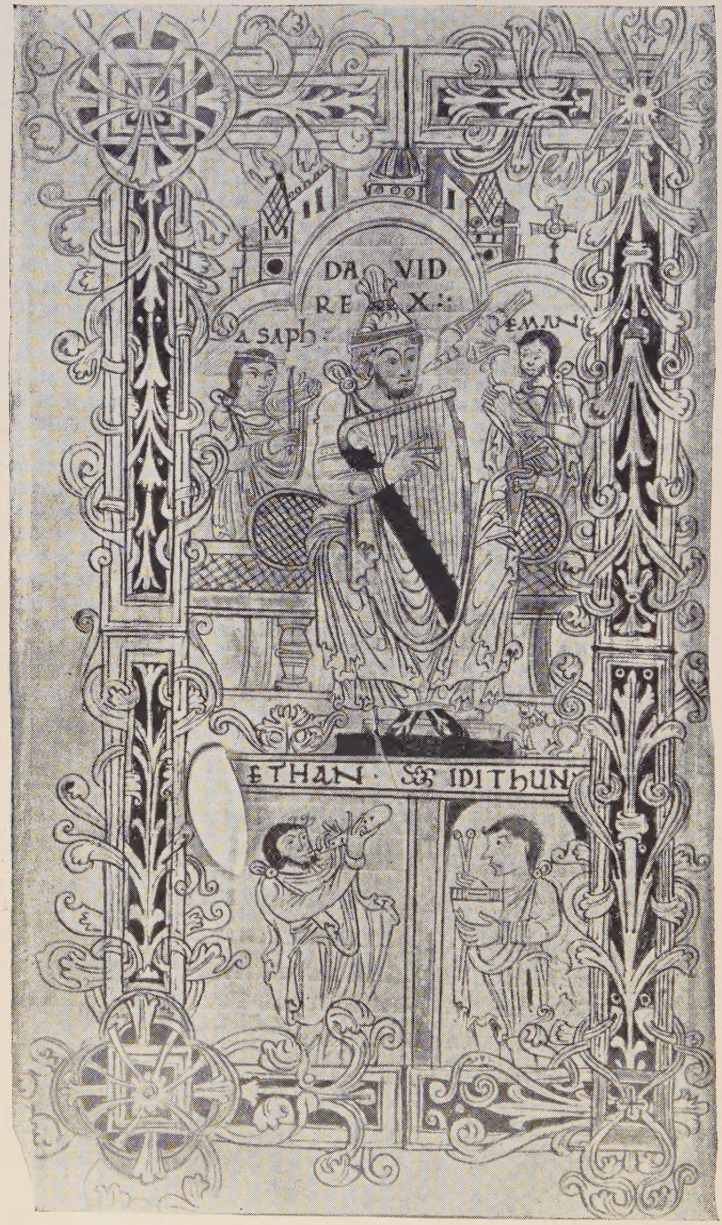
Pacific School of
Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

A LITURGICAL STUDY OF THE PSALTER

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/liturgicalstudyo0000keet



DAVID AND MUSICIANS

(*From an Anglo-Saxon Psalter*)

A LITURGICAL STUDY OF THE PSALTER

A CONSIDERATION OF SOME LITURGICAL AND CEREMONIAL ASPECTS OF JEWISH WORSHIP EXHIBITED IN THE BOOK OF PSALMS

BY

REV. C. C. KEET, B.A., B.D., PH.D.

Associate of King's College and of Trinity College of Music, London; Vicar of St. James's, Hampstead Road, London

With a Foreword by

REV. CANON G. H. BOX, M.A., D.D.

Samuel Davidson Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London; Fellow of King's College, London

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION
LIBRARY
1962

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1928

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

(*All rights reserved*)

BM
660
K43
1928

DM8
K258

THESIS APPROVED FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Printed in Great Britain by
Unwin Brothers, Ltd., Woking

MATRI MEAE DILECTISSIMAE

PREFATORY NOTE

THE essay here printed is substantially identical with a Thesis presented to the University of London, which was successful in obtaining for its author the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.). The subject, and the treatment of it by Dr. Keet, will, I venture to hope, commend the book to a wide circle of readers, especially those who desire to get in touch with the constructive side of Old Testament criticism.

In no department of Old Testament study is work of greater importance being done at the present time than in the text and interpretation of the Psalter. It is sufficient to mention in this connexion the special studies of Mowinckel and the great commentary lately (1926) published by Gunkel, though we still await the supplementary volume of Introduction; while recently two volumes containing studies of the Psalter have been issued by the Oxford Press.[1]

It has long been realized by scholars that the problems connected with the interpretation of the Psalms are of an extraordinarily difficult character. The attempt to find an historical background for these poems has led to no satisfactory result, though work of permanent value has been done in this connexion, especially by Cheyne in his Bampton Lectures. A new and fruitful turn to the investigation has, however, been provided, particularly by Gunkel and Mowinckel. In the light of the results reached by these scholars, it is realized that the background of the Psalter

[1] *The Psalmists*. Essays by Hugo Gressmann, H. Wheeler Robinson, T. H. Robinson, G. R. Driver, A. M. Blackman. Edited, with an introduction, by D. C. Simpson, Oxford, 1926; and *The Psalter in Life, Worship and History*, by Professor A. C. Welch, Oxford, 1926.

is to be regarded as to a large extent cultic and eschatological. How illuminating this point of view can be will be apparent in the pages that follow.

Dr. Keet surveys the subject in three parts. Part I is devoted to a discussion of the Chronicler and the Temple choirs; Part II to the liturgical setting of certain psalms. Here Mowinckel's theory is discussed at length, especially in connexion with the hypothesis of a divine accession festival. Part III is devoted to a discussion of the Psalms in the ancient synagogue. The whole treatment will, I venture to think, be found fresh, stimulating and interesting.

The writer of this Foreword once, in a discussion with a friend about the problems of the Old Testament Psalter, was told by his friend that he did not desire to understand the Psalms, but only to sing them. This attitude of mind is probably by no means isolated. It may be said at once that Dr. Keet's book is not for readers of this sort. The Psalter has deservedly won for itself a unique place in the literature of devotion; but their affection for it on this ground will only stimulate many readers with a strong desire to study it and understand it. To all such I heartily commend Dr. Keet's essay. It deserves, and I hope it will receive, a wide circulation among all who are interested in the advancement of sound Bible study.

G. H. BOX.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

MANY fields of interesting material invite the attention of the Old Testament student. Whether he be attracted by the problems of textual criticism, or by the history of the evolution of religious institutions and conceptions, or indeed by any of the many other cognate subjects that lie in the domain of Biblical study, he can find ample scope for investigation and research. Scholars have not been slow to recognize that such is the case, and during the last fifty years very many of the conclusions at which they have arrived have been of immense importance in throwing light upon the Hebrew Scriptures. Until recently, however, there has been a tendency to travel too frequently along certain well-beaten tracks, with the unfortunate result that several branches of Old Testament study have not yet received from the historian and theologian the attention that they undoubtedly deserve.

It is only within the last two decades that the problems of Jewish liturgiology have engaged the interest of wide circles of students to a really considerable extent. Many years ago the studies of Zunz justly won for his name a foremost position in this particular field. Yet for a time his call for followers remained unheeded. Within recent years, however, several scholars of distinction have responded to that call, among whom must ever be recorded the names of Peters, St. John Thackeray, Elbogen and Mowinckel.

The following pages are the outcome of an attempt to touch upon the edge of the subject of Jewish worship. They represent a survey of certain aspects of that worship as exhibited in the Psalter. Material for our investigations in the following pages will, then, be provided by the Psalter ; and it may be well to observe by way of introduction that

the Psalter will be regarded as embodying a number of hymnic collections brought together in the post-Exilic period mainly for liturgical purposes, testifying to the sublime faith of the Jewish Church, and used, to no small extent, in the solemnities of the Jerusalem-Temple. The presupposition that the psalms as liturgical collections are to be assigned to post-Exilic days does not preclude the possibility that some psalms may have had their origin in the pre-Exilic period. Several psalms, indeed, contain traces of the theology of an early age—such, for instance, as polytheism. Nevertheless, the pre-Exilic form of such psalms was probably very different from that which they finally assumed. With the subject of pre-Exilic worship, however, the present essay is not directly concerned.

In conclusion, I wish to express my cordial thanks to Professor Langdon, of the University of Oxford, for kindly suggesting the inclusion of the two Babylonian pictures.

King's College, London.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFATORY NOTE 7

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD 9

PART I

THE CHRONICLER AND THE TEMPLE-CHOIRS

CHAPTER I

ELABORATION AND DEVELOPMENT 23

Sketch of development in musical arrangements of Temple previous to age of Chronicler—Condition of newly restored exiles—Efforts of Nehemiah to add dignity to Temple-worship—First liturgical collection of psalms issued—Gradual development throughout Persian period hindered from time to time—Psalmody rendered by musical choirs or guilds—Gradual advancement of order of musicians to Levitical rank accompanied by elaboration in method of rendering psalms—Importance of introduction of the twenty-four courses and consequent break-up of the old choirs—Neglect of old musical rubrics—Evidence of Psalter and LXX on this point—Introduction of Greek influence—Its potency in the sphere of music—Further elaboration in musical arrangements of Temple—Congregational element beginning to assume position of importance.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRONICLER AND HIS EVIDENCE 30

Historical value of Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah—Maccabæan redaction of Chronicles—Bias clearly seen in Chronicler's writings—False assumption with regard to P.—Disregard of chronological sequence in incorporating documents and memoirs—Framework of Chronicles artificial—Discrimination between various parts of Chronicler's work essential—Evidence with regard to Temple-worship specially valuable.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRONICLER'S EXAMPLE OF PSALMODY 35

Picture of pre-Exilic worship recorded in 1 Chronicles xvi to be read in light of Chronicler's own age—Comparison of psalm-

PAGE

fragments in Chronicles with Psalter-text itself—Significance of certain alterations effected by Chronicler—Theory that original passage is in historical book unacceptable—Conclusions from survey of parallel passages—Psalter-text in third century in state of fluidity—Beginning and ending of Psalms not fixed—Text capable of alteration—No definite order of Psalms—Method of Chronicler pursued in subsequent ages—Reasons for fluidity of text in time of Chronicler—Note of probable date of Ezra's arrival at Jerusalem—Psalms already in existence in age of Chronicler.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUSIC OF THE TEMPLE-PSALMODY 47

Ancient music primarily vocal—Possibilities with regard to existence of tonal system in Hebrew music—Examination of certain musical rubrics in Chronicles and Psalter—A theory of Mowinckel examined—Further evidence of Chronicler—Harmony unknown in vocal music of Hebrews—Elementary conception of harmony displayed in instrumentation—Importance of Greek influence in sphere of music—Possible character of Hebrew melodies—Use at one period of popular melodies in Psalmody—Improbability of theory that women assisted in Temple-choir.

CHAPTER V

LITURGICAL PRAYER AT THE TIME OF THE CHRONICLER . . 58

History of development of liturgical prayer among the Hebrews bound up with evidence of present synagogue-liturgy—Elaboration of Temple-worship after Exile involved corresponding development in dignity of public prayer—Affinities between language of Chronicler and that of Psalmists—Influence of Psalter in determining form of liturgy—Instances of liturgical fragments embedded in Chronicler's work—Prayers liturgical in character recorded in Chronicles—Free and extempore prayers also recorded—Evidence of a later age upon this subject—The problem of participation of the laity in liturgical worship at time of Chronicler—Popular element at that time probably confined to certain well-known liturgical formulæ—Problem of antiphonal singing.

CHAPTER VI

BEN SIRA, PSEUDO-ARISTEAS, AND JOSEPHUS 67

Evidence of three eyewitnesses of Temple-worship—Sirach's description of the High Priest on Day of Atonement to be read in conjunction with tractate *Yoma* and synagogue-liturgy for *Yom Kippur*—Pseudo-Aristeas—Value of description of Jerusalem and Temple-service considered—Record of Josephus and its value.

PAGE

CHAPTER VII

THE DAILY SACRIFICE 74

Brief survey of ceremonies accompanying the offering of the daily sacrifice—Difficulties in connexion with a service of prayer—The incense and drink-offerings—The liturgical psalm for the day—Concluding psalmody—Differences observed on the Sabbath—Note upon subject of the Herodian Temple.

PART II

SOME PSALMS AND THEIR LITURGICAL SETTINGS

CHAPTER VIII

MOWINCKEL AND THE HEBREW NEW YEAR 81

Object of Part II an examination of the liturgical setting of certain psalms—Season of Hebrew New Year to form subject of first part of inquiry—Mowinckel's theory—The Feast of the Ascent to the Throne—The Kingship of Yahweh—The liturgical drama of the *Thronbesteigungsfest*—The mythical element—Coming of Yahweh represents a new creation—Festival regarded also as Feast of Ingathering—The social festive meal—Survey of some passages adduced by Mowinckel.

CHAPTER IX

SOME PSALMS FOR THE DIVINE ACCESSION FESTIVAL . . 88

The theocratic psalms as hymns for this Festival—Ideas of Creation and Judgement emphasized by psalmist—Significance of the presence of these ideas in the liturgy for *Rosh Ha-shanah*—Psalm xlvii and its separation from the other members of the group—Psalm cxlix probably not an Accession-psalm—Conclusions with regard to Psalms xxxiii, xxix, and xxxiv—A group of harvest-hymns: lxv, lxvii, lxxxv and cxxvi—Dramatic representations again—Psalms lxxxi, lxxxv, cxxxii, lxxxiv, and cxiv—Some judgement-psalms: l and lxxxii—Babylonian parallel—Modern Jewish belief upon subject of judgement—Psalm xlviii—The *Secrets* of Yahweh.

CHAPTER X

THE LITURGICAL PROCESSION OF THE ACCESSION FEAST . . 93

Relation between Accession-procession and the Sukkoth-procession described in the Mishnah—Evidence of Psalm cxviii—

PAGE

Psalms xxiv and cxxxii—Mowinckel's theory concerning these psalms—His pre-Exilic date unacceptable—His theory not impaired by this criticism—Line of demarcation must be drawn between liturgical setting of Psalms xxiv and cxxxii and, on the other hand, that of Psalm cxviii—Psalm cxviii a processional hymn, but not that of the Divine King.

CHAPTER XI

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS 97

Mowinckel's theory to be examined in the light of the synagogue-liturgy—His debt to earlier writers—*Rosh Ha-shanah*—Prominence of certain ideas at this Feast: Judgement, Remembrance, the Creation, Exodus, and God's Salvation, specially remembered—Striking parallels to Mowinckel's theory—Idea of Kingship also prominent at *Rosh Ha-shanah*—Special appendix to the *Amidah*-prayer—The special Benedictions of *Shofaroth*, *Zikronoth* and *Malkiyyoth*—Ideas of Judgement, Exodus, Salvation, and Kingship exhibited also at *Yom Kippur*—Mythical cult apparent in High Priest's prayer for *Yom Kippur*—Conception of Divine Kingship, Creation, Exodus, Salvation, and Remembrance prominent again at *Sukkoth*—Mythical element also present—Significance of prayer used at conclusion of meal on first evening of *Sukkoth*—Further significance of certain liturgical and ceremonial aspects of *Sukkoth*—Uncertainty as to whether the Accession-Feast was actually celebrated every year—Examination of Mowinckel's theory that no records of important historic events existed—Concluding thoughts on the idea of Divine Kingship—A new Feast of Divine Accession: Christ's Accession.

CHAPTER XII

SOME LITURGICAL AND CEREMONIAL ASPECTS OF 'ḤANUKKAH' 105

Transition to a Feast exhibiting in its cultus many of the characteristics of *Sukkoth*—Some points of similarity—Various characteristics of *Ḥanukkah*—Dr. Büchler's discussion of the three-years' cycle for reading the law—The Torah lessons for *Ḥanukkah*—The rise and development of the prophetical readings—Their connexion with the Torah-lessons—Prophetical lessons for *Ḥanukkah* considered—Zechariah prophecy—Its symbolism and significance—Lections from Kings and Zephaniah—The psalm proper for *Ḥanukkah*—Its title and characteristics.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HALLEL AND ITS LITURGICAL SETTING 113

Structure of the Egyptian Hallel—Its essential unity—Psalm cxviii—Its background—Its affinities with 1 Maccabees—The

PAGE

symbolism of *Ḥanukkah* apparent—Further indications of background—Significance of verse 22; to be read in the light of the *Haphtarah* from Zechariah—Further points of evidence—Significance of first part of verse 27; to be read in light of *Haphtarah* from 1 Kings xviii—Latter part of verse 27 considered—Dr. Thackeray's theory—Mowinckel's suggestion examined in detail—Background not necessarily *Sukkoth*—Remaining psalms of the Hallel and their significance—Concluding points.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HALLELUJAH PSALMS 126

Background of the Hallelujah psalms—Three definite landmarks in history of evolution of the Psalter—The last of these seen in the work of the Maccabæan psalmists—Liturgical setting of Hallelujah psalms—Their internal evidence—Concluding thought.

PART III

THE PSALMS AND THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE

CHAPTER XV

A GLIMPSE AT THE EARLY SYNAGOGUE 131

The problem of psalmody in the ancient synagogue—Dr. Gibson's article—Two aspects of the subject—Orthodoxy of *Diaspora*-Jews—Liturgical use of Greek in *Diaspora*-synagogues—Origin of synagogue considered—Evidence of Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament—A Greek liturgical hymn.

CHAPTER XVI

PSALMODY AND THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE 137

Use of psalmody in early synagogue probably confined to well-known psalms—Further reasons for belief that psalmody was used in Palestinian synagogues—Worship not reserved exclusively for Temple—Importance of introduction of courses among laity—Inability of many Jews to go to Jerusalem, but possibility of spiritual worship supplied by synagogue—Temple and synagogue-services performed simultaneously—Synagogue-music evidently understood by Temple-choir—Synagogue always regarded as invested with certain sanctity—Evidence of *Nishmat*—Evidence of Psalter—Some psalms were written for

PAGE

use in synagogue—The personal element in the Psalter—Synagogue-use of psalms a factor in helping to determine final form of Psalter—Evidence of Rabbinical literature.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PSALTER AND THE ZEMIROTH 146

Opening Benedictions of the praise-section of liturgy examined—Sentences from Chronicles—Further introductory praises—Reappearance of the method used by Chronicler—Psalm c.—The Sabbath and Festival psalms—Another passage of psalm-verses—Psalms cxlv–cl—Antiquity of this portion of liturgy—Concluding points and final Benedictions—Notes on the early liturgy.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PSALTER AND THE MISSA CATECHUMENORUM 153

Dr. Gibson's contention that the *Missa Catechumenorum* was direct descendant of synagogue-service historically correct—Not so his theory that *Missa Catechumenorum* contained no psalmody—Evidence of Church-Orders and the Fathers on this point—Evidence of the Roman Liturgy.

APPENDICES 159

BIBLIOGRAPHY 169

INDEX 179

ILLUSTRATIONS

DAVID AND MUSICIANS . . . . . *Frontispiece*

(From an Anglo-Saxon Psalter of the early eleventh century. University Library, Cambridge.)

FACING PAGE

THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON. VIEW FROM THE NORTH . . 81

(After Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon.* J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.)

THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON. VIEW FROM THE WEST . . 89

(After Koldewey, *op. cit.*)

CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE. STATUES OF THE SOUTH PORTAL OF STRASSBURG CATHEDRAL 153

(After Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst.* Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig.)

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

J.T.S.	*Journal of Theological Studies.* (London, 1899, etc.)
J.Q.R.	*Jewish Quarterly Review.* (London, 1882, etc., New Series, Philadelphia, 1910, etc.)
A.J.T.	*American Journal of Theology.* (Chicago, 1897, etc.)
J.B.L.	*Journal of Biblical Literature.* (Boston, 1901, etc.)
C.Q.R.	*Church Quarterly Review.* (London, 1876, etc.)
J.E.	*Jewish Encyclopædia.* (New Edition, London, 1925.)
H.D.B.	*Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.* (5 Vols. 1900.)
H.D.C.G.	*Hastings' Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.* (2 Vols. 1906.)
H.D.R.E.	*Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics.* (12 Vols. 1921.)
E.B.	*Encyclopædia Biblica.* (4 Vols. 1899.)
I.C.C.	*International Critical Commentary.* (Edinburgh, 1910, etc.)
H.J.P.	*History of the Jewish People.* By Schürer. English Translation. (5 Vols. Edinburgh, 1896.)
R.W.S.	*Religion and Worship of the Synagogue.* By Box and Oesterley. (2nd Edition, 1911.)
S.S.J.	*Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediæval Judaism.* By Box and Oesterley. (London, 1920.)

Abrahams' Annotated Edition of Singer's Authorised Prayer Book is cited as *Singer*.

PART I

THE CHRONICLER AND THE TEMPLE-CHOIRS

CHAPTER I

ELABORATION AND DEVELOPMENT

It is an essential part of a survey of some liturgical and ceremonial aspects of post-Exilic worship to take account of the sources for study contained in Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah. In the first part of this essay, then, the evidence supplied by the Chronicler will principally, but not exclusively, engage our attention. Yet before that evidence is examined in detail, we do well to remind ourselves that anterior to the day in which it was produced, the musical and liturgical arrangements of the Temple had developed considerably since the early days of the Restoration.[1] A cursory survey of the period during which such development took place is the purpose of the present chapter.

At the opening of the Persian period the condition of the newly restored exiles was by no means an enviable one. The exultant prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah appeared to have received but scant fulfilment. There was neither opportunity nor inclination to lavish devotion upon the Temple and its music. Concerning the interval that elapsed before the first arrival at Jerusalem of Nehemiah, little information can be gained. It is certain, however, that during the subsequent absence of the governor from the holy city the Levites were not provided with the necessaries of life at the expense of the community, and, in consequence, many of them left Jerusalem and occupied themselves with work on the land.[2] The Temple-worship was thereby impoverished, and the method by which the

[1] It is assumed that the author of Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah lived and wrote about the middle of the third century B.C. See Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (*I.C.C.*), p. 2.

[2] See Neh. xiii. 10.

psalmody was rendered probably became a matter of indifference to the majority of the worshippers. Nevertheless, Nehemiah ultimately reorganized certain financial arrangements in such a way as to provide adequately for the needs of the Levites. Henceforth the services could be regularly maintained, and the work of collecting and editing psalms was carried on apace. It was probably due to the efforts of Nehemiah that the first liturgical collection of psalms soon made its appearance, a collection consisting of a group of psalms substantially identical with the first part of our present Psalter.

During the Persian period no mean expenditure of energy and zeal must have been devoted upon the privilege of beautifying and adorning the Temple by those who found in that shrine the centre of all their hopes and aspirations.[1] Liturgical worship was gradually elaborated and before long assumed real dignity. By the time that Greek influence had become potent, many other developments in the musical and liturgical arrangements of the Temple had been evolved, the origin of which cannot be traced in the Pentateuchal documents.

We must not suppose, however, that this course of development proceeded quietly and without interruption throughout the whole of the Persian period. During that age a considerable amount of freedom was, with certain exceptions from time to time, accorded to the restored exiles. But more than one black day must have been experienced when progress was arrested or retarded.[2] Further than this, we know that a drastic reorganization of the Temple-choirs took place which completely revolu-

[1] In support of this statement one need only refer to the love for the Temple so obviously reflected in the pages of the Chronicler's work.

[2] It is possible that the Temple was devastated in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus (*circa* 350 B.C.), and there may be an allusion to this in Isa. lxiv. 9–11, which is plausibly regarded as a later insertion in its present context. See Box, *The Book of Isaiah*, p. 337.

tionized the musical arrangements formerly existing. There was, in fact, a musical revolution of signal significance, the main characteristics of which may now be surveyed.

Anterior to the time of the Chronicler the psalmody of the Temple was rendered by more than one choir of musicians. Traces of the existence of the choirs may clearly be seen in our present Psalter and in the books of Chronicles. We notice that there existed choirs of Temple-musicians named respectively after the three famous precentors of an earlier age.[1] These choirs or guilds were, no doubt, responsible for the preservation and use of small Psalters, consisting of liturgical psalms, which they had collected. Probably they were invested with authority to compose psalms themselves, and to incorporate such psalms into their own collections. It is generally accepted that the use of the Hebrew letter *lamed*, as found before the names of Asaph, Heman, Ethan and Jeduthun,[2] is not the *lamed auctoris*. The use of this letter prefixed to the names furnishes an indication whereby we may tell by which particular choir the psalm in question was used. Thus, Psalm lxxxix, superscribed with the words *Of Ethan, the Ezrahite*, may plausibly be regarded as having found a place in a collection of psalms belonging to a guild which was named after Ethan. Where the letter *lamed* is found before the word translated *Precentor* (*m^e^naṣṣēaḥ*), we have a psalm which was contained in the Psalter of the Precentor.[3] The technical musical directions prefixed to some of the psalms were understood and interpreted in a practical manner by these choirs of musicians.[4]

In the next place it is to be observed that the order of

[1] See 1 Chron. xv. 17.

[2] Ethan and Jeduthun are sometimes identified as the same person.

[3] See, e.g., Ps. lxxxiv.

[4] We may plausibly conjecture that in the Temple-choirs learners and experts sang together in order that the traditional rendering of the psalmody might be preserved. Music was certainly taught in the schools of those days. See 1 Chron. xxv. 8.

musicians was, in the earlier days of the post-Exilic period, sharply distinguishable from the order of Levites. But as time went on the status of these musicians was raised until at last they assumed Levitical rank, although still holding a position inferior to that of the Levites proper.[1] This advancement of the Temple-singers is not without significance, for it was accompanied by an elaboration in the method of rendering the psalmody. So complete were many of the changes introduced that, as we shall see, some of the musical rubrics of the Psalter became antiquated, and eventually were no longer used or understood. We have not yet, however, noted the most drastic changes of all effected in the arrangements of Temple-worship, changes which completely revolutionized the existing system.

An event of great importance was the division of the order of priests and that of Levites into twenty-four courses.[2] As to when this took place, it is difficult to say with exactitude. The courses certainly existed at the time of the Chronicler, and continued to exist after his day.[3] The

[1] In the earlier portions of the Chronicler's work, the *singers* are not accorded the title of Levites, whereas in the later portions they clearly hold Levitical rank. See Ezra x. 23, 24, and cf. 1 Chron. vi. 16 ff. It would appear that in the records to which the Chronicler had recourse the distinction between singers and Levites clearly existed.

[2] The laity were similarly divided into courses, each of which had its duty to perform as representative of the whole people. See *Taanith* iv. 1–4.

NOTE: The courses were known as *maḥlᵉḵôth*, sometimes as *mishmārôth*. A passage in Josephus which has been preserved in a Latin version contains reference to four courses only. See *contra Ap.* Bk. II. ch. viii. *Licet enim sint tribus quattuor sacerdotum, et harum tribuum singulae habeant hominum plus quam quinque milia, fit tamen observatio particulariter per dies certos; et his transactis alii succedentes ad sacrificia veniunt.* See *Josephus, with an English Translation*, by St. J. Thackeray, vol. i, p. 334, where it is pointed out that these are the four priestly tribes which returned with Zerubbabel. It may be added that possibly the passage is corrupt. Elsewhere the Jewish historian bears witness to the existence of twenty-four courses. The courses were in time broken up into smaller divisions which were known in post-Biblical literature as *bāttê 'ābôth*, although it so happens that the Chronicler uses this phrase to denote one of the larger divisions.

[3] See Ezra vi. 18; 1 Chron. ix. 25–27; xxiii. 6; xxv. 8.

rearrangement of the system which prevailed in the earlier post-Exilic period was necessary, because the priests and Levites had become so numerous that it was found to be impossible for them all to perform their official functions at the same time. Henceforth each course was to perform its duty at the Temple for a week, and to complete its week's work on the Sabbath.[1]

Here was an event of the deepest significance, for the order of musicians was thereby affected, and the old Temple-choirs, having lost their identity, were all fused together. As independent choirs they ceased to exist. It now became a matter of chance whether the members of a former choir used their own guild-Psalter or not. Hence we observe a further explanation of the fact that the musical rubrics fell into desuetude and became obsolete. A survey of the Books of Chronicles affords good ground for the supposition that, by the time of the Chronicler, a considerable number of these superscriptions had already become unintelligible. Certainly they were not all understood by the translators of the LXX-Psalter.[2] Incidentally we may note that the absence of musical directions from Books IV and V of our present Psalter furnishes a powerful argument that those collections of psalms are to be assigned to a later date than

[1] Lay representatives of the course on duty in any particular week were represented in the Temple by a deputation, the rest of the members attending their local synagogues during the actual time when the sacrifice was going on in the Temple. See *R.W.S.*, 2nd ed., p. 360.

[2] In some cases they are merely transliterated from the Hebrew. As an instance of a term which was no longer used when its meaning was lost we may notice the word *selā*, the appearance of which in some of the psalms and in portions of the synagogue-liturgy is a safe criterion of a comparatively early date. One is at a loss to understand why Dr. Driver refused to lay stress upon the ignorance concerning the superscriptions displayed by the translators of the LXX. In writing to Dr. Sanday (see *Oracles of God*, by Sanday, p. 146), he says: "I doubt greatly whether much weight is to be attached to the ignorance of the LXX . . . they frequently show themselves to be unfamiliar not only with uncommon or exceptional words, but even with those which one would have expected to be well known."

that at which the rearrangement of the Temple-choirs took place.

It is possible to trace the working of another influence which tended to change the character of the Temple-psalmody. The conquests of Alexander the Great were of momentous consequence, and the spread of Hellenic culture which followed in their wake was a development of profound importance. In its earliest stages the influx of Hellenism was somewhat restricted, but eventually it became a force of almost irresistible power. The influence of Greece was experienced in every sphere of life.[1] In Judæa the invasion of Hellenism undoubtedly produced marked effects. The presence of Greek colonies governed upon Hellenistic lines served as a stimulus even to the more backward Jewish population. It is inconceivable, therefore, that Greek music failed to leave its impress upon the Temple-psalmody.[2] The Greeks were by no means insensible to the attractions of art, and their music cannot have been devoid of beauty.[3] In a subsequent chapter where some attempt will be made briefly to survey the probable character of Hebrew music in the post-Exilic period, there will be occasion again to refer to this aspect of Hellenistic influence. Here one may merely observe that there are ample grounds for the supposition that the tide of the Hellenizing movement had the effect of raising very considerably both the level of the Temple-music and the method by which it was rendered.[4] It may safely be affirmed that, among other consequences, different and better instruments were introduced.[5]

[1] See, e.g., Farrell: *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*, p. 9, where the influence of Greek political thought as reflected in the writings of Aristotle and Plato is clearly indicated.

[2] See art. 'Music' in *E.B.*, col. 3240.

[3] Oesterley, *Psalms in the Jewish Church*, p. 27.

[4] Especially must this have been the case during the *régime* of the Seleucidæ.

[5] It is probable that a fresh set of musical directions, now no longer extant, was extensively used.

Greek instruments were certainly in use among the Jews in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, for that such was the case is attested by the well-known reference in the Book of Daniel to harp, psaltery and double flute.[1] One may go further and urge that, even though the Chronicler appears to have been entirely uninfluenced by Hellenism, as early as his day the work of improvement and development was already vigorously being carried on.

The tendencies towards elaboration in Temple-psalmody thus briefly surveyed were of vital importance. They involved an improvement and development in the liturgy itself. Moreover, the worshippers began to take an active share in the services, and Temple-worship began, perhaps for the first time, to assume a dinstinctly congregational character.[2] The increasing prominence of this congregational aspect in the prayers and praises is a subject that will be dealt with in a subsequence chapter.[3] It must not, of course, be thought that the priests relinquished any of their sacerdotal prerogatives ; nevertheless the laity were enabled to participate more actively in the worship by reciting certain liturgical formulæ.[4]

[1] Dan. iii, 5. See Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 39, where a slightly different view of the nature of סוּמְפֹּנְיָה is adopted. The Maccabæan date of the Book of Daniel is assumed in the present essay.

S.S.J., p. 10 f. See also art. 'Worship' (Hebrew) in *H.D.R.E.*, vol. xii, p. 791.

[3] Ch. v.

[4] At a later date the Pharisees took an active part in giving the laity opportunity to share more fully in various ways in the exercises of worship, e.g. in the Passover-meal, which was celebrated in the homes of the people, and in which the father acted almost as a priest.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRONICLER AND HIS EVIDENCE

THE preceding outline will be sufficient to convey a general idea of the trend of events in the post-Exilic period anterior to the time of the Chronicler. We are now in a position to examine in somewhat greater detail the nature of that evidence contained in Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah which has a direct bearing upon our subject. Immediately there arises the pertinent question whether the writings of the Chronicler are to be accepted as trustworthy documents, or whether they are records devoid of historical value. In the first place, it must be admitted that we do not possess the text of those writings precisely in the form in which they left their author's hands. In the Maccabæan period the Chronicler's work suffered some revision so that in its present form it may date from the second century B.C. Perhaps the position of the two books of Chronicles in the Hebrew canon may be due to this revision.[1] What evidence of this redaction is to be found? We notice that in 1 Chron. xxiv. 7 Jehoiarib is mentioned as the first of the twenty-four priestly classes. But in an older list (Neh. x. 3–9; xii. 1–7; xii. 17–21), Jehoiarib is either not mentioned at all, or, if mentioned, is assigned to a subordinate position. Since the Maccabees sprang from the family of Jehoiarib, we have here a clear indication of the redaction of Chronicles in Maccabæan times.[2] Further, since, according to 2 Chron. xxi. 10 the Edomites had not yet been subdued, the redac-

[1] The position of Chronicles may also be regarded as an indication that the work was not intended to be regarded as equal in historical value to the earlier Books of Samuel and Kings. See Box, *A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (ed. 1924), p. 89.

[2] See 1 Macc. ii, 1 and xiv. 29.

tion must have taken place before that event happened. We know, however, that John Hyrcanus effected their subjection between the years 128 and 113 B.C.; consequently we may infer that the redaction took place sometime between the period of the rise of the Maccabæan family and 128 B.C. It is unnecessary to suppose that this Maccabæan redaction introduced any vital alterations into the work of the Chronicler; and in the present essay Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah will be regarded as being *substantially* the work of one author only.

In turning to consider the work of the Chronicler as an historical record, we have to notice that his evidence has sometimes been vigorously assailed upon the ground that it lacks historicity and presents a picture which is not only untrue but also deliberately distorted. Even where the verdict of scholars has been less unmerciful, the Chronicler has not been acquitted of many serious charges.[1] Are we to follow the lead of those who generally distrust the historical value of these writings? It is quite true that an unmistakable bias is to be found in the pages of Chronicles. The author writes from the standpoint of the southern kingdom. To him the kings of Judah present the embodiment of perfect kingship. He carefully conceals their misdemeanours and casts powerful light upon their virtues. Again, the Chronicler writes as though the Priestly Code had always been recognized as of fundamental importance. In certain instances where historical statements appear to him to be incompatible with the principles of the ceremonial law contained in the Pentateuch, he calmly omits to record them, or so completely changes their complexion as to render them unrecognizable.

It is, moreover, extremely unfortunate that our author,

[1] See, e.g., Curtis, *The Books of Chronicles* (*I.C.C.*), p. 14; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, Eng. trans., p. 176; Kautzsch, *Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 126.

in embodying into his work several documents and memoirs which are of special value, has shown a certain disregard for chronological sequence. Within the limited scope of the present inquiry, it is impossible to enter upon the subject of the Aramaic documents and their rightful position in the text, but one must observe that inaccuracy on the part of the Chronicler in incorporating his original authorities into his work has led to much confusion.[1] The traditional date (458 B.C.), assigned for the arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem, is now largely discredited; until recent years there has, in fact, existed a widespread misconception about this most important date, and the onus must be laid upon our historian.[2] Lastly, we are led to notice that the credulity

[1] The Aramaic sections in Ezra are as follows: iv. 7–24a; iv. 24b–vi. 18; vii. 12–26. The verses between vi. 18 and vii. 12 appear to be two Hebrew interpolations. If these interpolations are omitted, we have a long unbroken section in Aramaic, iv. 7–vii. 26.

[2] Concerning this date some further observations will be made subsequently. See ch. iii, p. 44.

NOTE: To what extent are the records and sources which are apparently incorporated into the Chronicler's work to be regarded as genuine? Torrey has written fully upon this subject, and he is not very kindly disposed towards traditional views. He admits that the Chronicler does not *alter* material and sources but inserts them into his work as they stand. On the other hand, he insists that the Chronicler sometimes produces completely fresh material by drawing upon his own imagination. Thus, in the case of the last Aramaic section referred to above, Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 231 ff., urges that the letter of Artaxerxes was actually invented and composed by our historian, whom he declares to have been incapable of writing three chapters without a reference to Levites and singers. But no adequate grounds for these suppositions appear to be forthcoming. Surely the Chronicler occasionally alters material in order to make it accord theologically with his own propensity. Batten, *op. cit.*, p. 17, for instance, reminds us that he alters *Yahweh* into *Satan* in 1 Chron. xxi. 1. (See 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.) Nor is it easy to believe that the Chronicler deliberately invents material. The most satisfactory conclusion seems to be that the records and sources found in Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah are genuine, even though in some instances they have been subjected to slight modifications. In the case of the personal memoirs in Ezra—Nehemiah the Chronicler probably fails to produce *verbatim* the speeches of the people whom he quotes, but he paraphrases their words—or perhaps the words of the author to whom he is indebted for his material. See in this connection Driver, *The Speeches in Chronicles* (*Expositor*, Fifth Series, vol. i, p. 241; vol ii, p. 286).

of those who read the Chronicles is taxed somewhat heavily by the artificial arguments and reasonings of the author. Every sin recorded is visited by direct punishment in an extraordinary manner. There is much that is unreal, much that is untrue to life.

Perhaps, then, we may dismiss the Chronicler as convicted of giving us an inaccurate tendency-record, a record to be but lightly prized by the theologian and the historian? No. The problem is a complex one; it cannot be settled in so summarily a fashion. The true solution thereof lies in discriminating between the different strata which are to be found in Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah. Very obvious it is that the Chronicler took a supreme interest in the musical arrangements and liturgical worship of the second Temple. Certainly his writings upon this subject bear the stamp of personal reminiscence. He actually took part in the Temple-solemnities, and we may well believe that he was able to make use of many original sources, written and oral, which are preserved for us only by his records. In this particular sphere, truly he supplies us with material for study which is of unique value.

Perhaps it may be objected that even in matters of Temple-psalmody and ceremonial the evidence of the Chronicler is to be accepted as trustworthy only in particular instances, and always with extreme caution. For example, in recording the celebration of a Passover in the age of Hezekiah, does he not give us a description which is replete with anachronisms? [1] And does he not frequently put a picture of post-Exilic days into a pre-Exilic frame? Such is indeed the case, but, on the other hand, when once it has been realized that our author throws the events of his own day into a bygone age, we may safely conclude that he gives us much information about the Temple-psalmody and

[1] See Bennett, *The Books of Chronicles*, p. 437.

ceremonial of the early Greek period which is reliable and valuable.[1] That information will supply us with material for study in subsequent chapters of this essay.

[1] This view of the Chronicler's work is accepted by most modern scholars, e.g. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed., p. 533.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRONICLER'S EXAMPLE OF PSALMODY

THE Chronicler, though he desired to reconstruct the past, was quite unable to imagine past ages governed by conditions essentially different from those of his own time. He essays to give us an illustration of the character of liturgical worship in pre-Exilic days, and this illustration calls for special consideration. The psalm-passage contained in 1 Chron. xvi. is familiar. We can, however, hardly believe that the psalm-fragments embodied therein were actually sung on the occasion to which reference is made. Yet it is not necessary to conclude that the Chronicler is guilty of deliberate deception. He did not realize the necessity for historical accuracy which is demanded from the historian to-day.[1] A commentator remarks: 'He (the Chronicler) had no more hesitation in filling up the gaps in the Books of Kings from what he saw round about him, than a painter would have in putting the white clouds and blue waters of to-day into a picture of skies and seas a thousand years ago.'[2] This quotation most aptly sums up a defence for the boldness displayed by the author of Chronicles in describing an occasion of pre-Exilic days in the light of his own age.

But, further, it may well be questioned whether our author would wish us to believe that the psalms which he quotes were actually sung at the ceremony which he describes. The rendering of the Authorized Version appears to afford good ground for the supposition that they were so sung, for in that version we read: *Then on that day David*

[1] See *H.J.P.*, div. ii, vol. i, p. 340 (Eng. trans.).
[2] Bennett, *ibid.*, p. 117.

delivered first this psalm to thank the Lord into the hand of Asaph and his brethren. An examination of the Hebrew text, however, reveals the insufficiency of this translation.[1] The words as given there would be more accurately rendered: *On that day, then, David gave for the first time into the hand of* (i.e. committed to) *Asaph and his brethren to praise* (*Hiphil infinitive construct*) *Yahweh.* There follow the excerpts from the psalms, but notice that the Chronicler does not definitely state that these psalms were actually sung by the Levitical choir upon the occasion in question. *Gather us together and deliver us from the nations.* Such a prayer might well have been composed when Israel was struggling to hold her own against the hostile Samaritans and other enemies, but not in pre-Exilic times when there was no need to pray for deliverance, no need to pray that true worshippers might be gathered together. A certain significance is, moreover, to be attached to the LXX-title of a psalm quoted by the Chronicler.[2] This title gives to the psalm an historical setting: *When the house was built after the Captivity, a Song by David.* How aptly might the words *After the Captivity* be applied to the occasion of the Dedication of Zerubbabel's temple! Psalms similar to those quoted in this chapter of Chronicles were surely used at that historic ceremony.

At this point it will be useful to compare the text of the psalm-fragments in Chronicles with the text that appears in the canonical Psalter. In chapter xvi, verses 8–11 correspond exactly with verses 1–4 of Psalm cv. Verse 13 reads *seed of Israel* instead of *seed of Abraham.* A striking alteration is contained in verse 15: for *He hath remembered his covenant* of the Psalter, an imperative is substituted, *Remember his covenant.* Preference is to be given in this instance to the Psalter-text rather than to that of the

[1] Verse. 7, *ba-yôm ha-hû 'āz nāthan Dāwîdh bārōsh lᵉhōdhôth lᵉyahweh bᵉyadh-'āsāph wᵉ'eḥāiw.*

[2] Psalm xcvi.

historical book. Possibly the Chronicler substituted an imperative in view of the many other imperatives found in this section.[1] In verse 19 is read *When ye were* instead of *When they were*, and here, once again, the actual psalm represents a better text. Other slight variations (which need not be enumerated) are found in verses 20–24.

We now pass to extracts from another psalm. Verse 23 and the following verses are to be found with but slight variation in Psalm xcvi. It should be noted that no logical connexion between the conceptions and ideas of verse 22 and those of verse 23 can be traced. The transition is quite abrupt. Some words of Psalm xcvi appear to have been omitted, the reason probably being that in the historical text they do not form the commencement of a psalm-passage as they do in the Psalter itself. It is, I think, not altogether without significance that in verse 27 the Chronicler has changed the phrase *in his sanctuary* into *in his place*. We may infer that he made this alteration, conceiving that the sanctuary, as he knew it, did not exist in pre-Exilic times.

Proceeding, we notice in verse 29 the words *come before him*, instead of *come into his courts*. As far as the metre is concerned the verse is undoubtedly irregular, consisting of three clauses instead of two. The first clause of verse 9 in Psalm xcvi is to be found in the third clause of verse 29 in Chronicles: the last section of this verse of the psalm is the first of verse 30 in Chronicles.

Then the Chronicler leaves out the first clause of verse 10 in Psalm xcvi: *Say among the nations, the Lord reigneth*, and inserts it later. This is a point of some significance, as we shall have occasion to observe later. Notice also that after the words of the psalmist in verse 10, *The world also is stablished that it cannot be moved*, the Chronicler omits *He shall judge the peoples with equity*. This omitted phrase is found, with a slight difference, in Psalm ix, 9, and

[1] A difference of spelling is shown in verse 16, *yiṣḥāḵ* instead of *yisḥāḵ*.

also in Psalm xcviii, 9. The last half of verse 31 in Chronicles is the clause previously passed over by the Chronicler. Its insertion here breaks up the verses of the psalm again, and separates clauses which stand together in the Psalter. In verse 33 we read: *Then shall the trees of the wood sing for joy before the Lord*, instead of *Then shall all the trees of the wood sing for joy before the Lord*. It will be observed that the actual conclusion of the psalm is omitted in Chronicles. Verse 34 is found at the beginning of psalms cvi and cvii. There is every reason to believe that it was an old liturgical formula. Notice that verses 35 and 36 stand practically as they appear at the end of Psalm cvi, but in verse 36 there is an alteration to which we must attach considerable significance.[1] Instead of the words *And let all the people say, Amen, Praise ye the Lord*, we find, *And all the people said Amen, and praised the Lord*.

Before we proceed to consider what light is thrown upon our subject by a comparison of the above parallel passages, it will be useful to refer briefly to certain contentions, closely concerned with our subject, which have been advanced by scholars. Throughout the present chapter it has been assumed that where divergence between the Psalter-text and that of Chronicles has been found to exist, we have instances of alterations of the psalmic text effected by the Chronicler. This assumption has not always been adopted by critics. Hitzig, for example, contended that the original psalm-passage was to be found in the historical book and not in the Psalter.[2] The theory appears not to be very convincing. At the time that the author of Chronicles wrote, some parts of the Psalter were undoubtedly in existence. Internal evidence, moreover, in several instances

[1] The Chronicler uses the article in the phrase *adh-hā-'ōlām* (verse 36) probably because the words here represent an essentially liturgical formula. Elsewhere he omits the article when using the phrase.

[2] *Die Psalmen*, p. 160.

testifies to the priority of the Psalter-text. It is, of course, not always easy to determine which of two particular readings is the earlier. Yet it would appear fairly certain that in some cases the text of Chronicles has the later word.[1] It would, however, be precarious to stress the supposed priority of various readings, inasmuch as all students of textual criticism are aware that the later of two manuscripts sometimes gives a more accurate text than that of the earlier. But again, the diction of Chronicles as a whole appears to be that of a somewhat later date than that of the psalm-pieces, and the style and syntax of the historical book, moreover, reflect late linguistic features.[2]

The theory of Steuernagel concerning the parallel psalm-passages presents another point of view from which the problem has been surveyed.[3] This scholar, having dealt at some length with the description of the Festival recorded in Chronicles, concludes that the psalm-excerpts were not placed in the historical text by the Chronicler himself. He urges that an editor of Chronicles at a late date interpolated Psalms cv. 1–15 ; xcvi. 1*b*, 2*b*–13*a* and cvi. 1 and 47, as parts of the most recent psalm-collection. Verses 41 and 42 of chapter xvi were, he conjectures, added soon after the Chronicler's own days. The theory is brilliant and scholarly. In a limited amount of space it is impossible to do justice to it. I would venture to suggest, however, that Steuernagel assigns to the theocratic psalms a somewhat later date than their internal evidence demands. We ought perhaps to notice in conclusion that Stade, Reuss and Elmslie also inclined to the view that the psalm-passage was a later interpolation into the text of Chronicles. In

[1] E.g. *bimeḵōmô* in verse 27 for *bemiḵdāshô*. Also *lephānāin* for *leḥaṣerôthāiw* in verse 29.

[2] See Driver, Intro. to O.T., p. 535, where it is urged that the style of Chronicles indicates either that the language was in a state of decadence or that the author had an imperfect command over it.

[3] Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das alte Testament*, p. 396.

the present essay, however, there will be maintained the standpoint assumed above, namely, that the Chronicler himself made the excerpts from existing psalms, and placed them in his record.

What conclusion, then, is to be deduced from our survey of the parallel psalmic texts? We may safely conclude that at some period in the third century B.C. the text of such a Psalter as then existed was in a state of fluidity. This much is clear, the free way in which the Chronicler handles the text of the psalms, combining excerpts from different psalms to form fresh wholes. Herein lies the significance of the method pursued by the Chronicler. The beginnings and endings of the psalms were not irrevocably determined; their text was by no means incapable of alteration or emendment. Hence the author of Chronicles, wishing to illustrate the character of psalmody popular in his day, feels no compunction in selecting a portion of one psalm and joining it on to a portion of another.[1] At one service a section of one psalm would perhaps, in the interests of liturgiology, be combined with part of another psalm, while at another service a different section might be used in a similar way.

This method of transferring and fusing together psalm-fragments marks a stage through which the text passed before it ultimately became fixed. There was, in the age of the Chronicler, no rigidly fixed order of psalms. A connexion between different psalms had not yet been definitely determined. But gradually certain psalms became more and more permanently joined to others, and eventually were stereotyped into a fixed text, thus causing it to assume a much more rigid form. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasized.

[1] The psalms were evidently not sung in their entirety. Perhaps the privilege of arranging the psalm-fragments to be used on any particular day rested with the Precentor.

In this connexion it may be observed that a survey of the Psalter as it exists to-day leads us to the conclusion that the method employed by the author of Chronicles was by no means unknown to or ignored by, redactors in subsequent ages.[1] The process of combining various psalm-fragments is one that has been widely used by those whose labours have contributed to the gradual evolution of the canonical Psalter. We notice many instances of two or more psalm-fragments joined together in such a way as to form one psalm.[2] Certainly the adaptation of psalms for liturgical use in the Temple led, in more cases than one, to profound alterations in text and structure.[3] Psalm xliv, for example, obviously consists of two psalms (verses 1–8 and 9–26), while its conclusion is a late addition, appended probably at a time when the term *selā* had become obsolete (perhaps in the Maccabæan period).

This process of combining portions of various psalms was, however, not the only one practised by redactors in post-Exilic days. Occasionally the inverse process can be traced, and we find instances of a psalm split up into sections, each of which was subsequently regarded as a complete liturgical unit. Psalms xlii and xliii, really one Temple-song, are a signal instance of this. Most probably Psalms ix and x in our present Psalter furnish us with a further example.[4] In the Hebrew text they appear as two distinct psalms. But in the LXX they are one, and it may be true to

[1] Cf. ch. xvii, p. 148.

[2] E.g. Psalm xix, the first part of which is in praise of natural light, while the second part (in a different metre) praises spiritual light as given in the law.

[3] See Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 195. "The fact that the Psalter was used in the Temple-services would naturally lead to a certain amount of adaptation. . . ." See also Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 100, where it is pointed out that some psalms are "largely made up of extracts from earlier psalms, in a way very natural in a liturgical manual of devotion, but not so natural in a poet merely composing a hymn for his personal use."

[4] See Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1915), ch. viii.

say that such is the case also in the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. Unquestionably St. Jerome gives them as one.

It is not difficult to discover reasons for the lack of fixity in the Psalter-text at the time of the Chronicler. A liturgical text necessarily lies more open to the possibility of alteration than does, for instance, an historical text. Frequently it is desirable, even necessary, to emend a text in the interests of liturgiology, and very many textual alterations are proved to have taken place simply for liturgical reasons.

Changes in the Psalter-text would sometimes be due to careless copying on the part of scribes. Indeed, the scribes of early days appear to have exercised the utmost freedom in dealing with the sacred text. Our present Psalter abundantly testifies to the truth of this statement. But while some changes in a text are to be ascribed to mere carelessness, others must be regarded as deliberate alterations made with intention of deceiving. Jeremiah had indicated the danger of scribes purposely tampering with text of the law: *Behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely.*[1] In the age of the Chronicler the scribes were probably neither beyond reproach nor, in every instance, supremely trustworthy. During the time, then, that the Hebrew liturgical literature was passing through the processes of redaction and collection, many changes found their way into the text on account of these reasons. We are not justified in saying that this was the case *to any great extent* as early as the days of the Chronicler; none the less, such a consideration does, in some degree contribute

[1] See Jer. viii. 8b. This view of the passage is accepted by many scholars, e.g. Marti (*Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 88), who considers that the reference of the prophet is to Deuteronomy. Peake, however (*Jeremiah*, vol. i, p. 160) prefers the view that the reference is to some regulations, now no longer in existence, which had been presumptuously promulgated by scribes as Divine ordinances.

towards an explanation of the lack of fixity which is so obviously exhibited in the psalmic text of his age.

A further reason becomes obvious when we realize that throughout this period there was a real deepening of spiritual apprehension. This is a marked feature in the worship of those days. And as the spiritual vision of the nation became wider, there must have been experienced from time to time a need for alteration in those hymns which expressed the religious sentiments of the people. Theological conceptions changed as time advanced, and the changes were expressed tangibly in the liturgical language of the day. The same process may be seen operating in our own age. It may safely be affirmed that all hymn-books pass into desuetude unless they are revised from time to time.[1] We should be extremely reluctant to take upon our lips some of the hymns which our forefathers used with the utmost contentment.[2] In certain instances drastic revision would be necessary; but many hymns of a bygone age would be intolerable even if revised.

Such a process of revision can, however, be seen to have taken place in the text of the Psalter. Crude and material ideas of pre-Exilic times were not particularly acceptable to the post-Exilic Jewish community, inspired as it was by a more living faith than that of earlier days. Hence not a few textual changes are to be ascribed to development in the religious life of Israel, a life which was gradually being

[1] See Powis Smith, *The Religion of the Psalms*, p. 2 ff.

[2] We observe here one reason which might be adduced by way of *caveat* against the contention of Dr. Peters (*The Psalms as Liturgies*) when he maintains that we possess fragments of psalms which were used at the local sanctuary at Dan. Doubtless some fragments of this kind have survived. Psalm lxxxix, e.g., with its reference to Tabor and Hermon (verse 13), is probably a fragment of a psalm sung at Dan. But after the Exile, pre-Exilic songs as a whole would not have satisfied. Very few would have been preserved, and these would have been subjected to alterations and improvements before they became acceptable to the new Jewish community.

illumined by a more and more spiritual conception of Yahweh and His purposes for men. This conclusion should be borne in mind as we examine the lack of fixity exhibited in the psalmic text. Inversely, of course, this fluidity of the text tended to render the worship of that day fresher and less stereotyped. The real interest of 1 Chron. xvi lies, as I have already suggested, in the evidence we find there of the manner in which psalms were used liturgically, and the very fact that sections of various psalms were from time to time fused together into liturgies as the exigencies of different circumstances demanded is in itself evidence that religion in this period was a vital experience.

The lack of fixity in the text of the psalms at this period of course harmonizes with the fact that the Psalter, as it existed at the time of the Chronicler, was not yet a canonical writing. It would, of course, be untrue to say that no conception of canonicity was entertained in the third century B.C. As early as 621 some writings of the Deuteronomist had been invested with a peculiar sanctity. During the Exile the labours of scribes had been directed towards producing the records known to us respectively as J and E. Further, we should notice that throughout the Persian period, and indeed until the arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem, J, E and D, constituting in combination a skeleton Pentateuch, commanded considerable reverence and respect. But when did Ezra actually arrive, and what is the chief significance of his arrival? The difficulties of the traditional view regarding the former problem have already been referred to more than once. Within recent times cogent arguments have been advanced which make it probable that Ezra returned to the holy city in 397, the seventh year in the reign of Artaxerxes II.[1] With him he brought the Priestly writings, and consequently to this

[1] Box, Short Intro. to Lit. of O.T. (ed. 1924) Appendix. See also Browne, *From Babylon to Bethlehem*, ch. iv.

important date is to be assigned the promulgation of a revised Pentateuch, now including, for the first time, the records known to scholars under the symbol P. Nehemiah had doubtless previously had in his possession some form of the *Law of Holiness*, and this document may have been accessible to the community as a whole. Now, however, it was definitely promulgated. At the time of the Chronicler, then, the Pentateuch, including P, was regarded as canonical. But since the conception of canonicity did not extend to such parts of the Psalter as then existed, no scruple was experienced in altering and resetting the liturgical songs of the Temple.

Before this chapter is closed it may be observed that if only the condition of the Psalter in the third century could be precisely determined, we should be in a position to solve many fascinating problems with regard to the dates of psalms and the psalmody of Temple-worship. The late Dean of Westminster, Dr. Ryle, denied that the Chronicler gives evidence of taking his extracts from a sacred collection.[1] These words must, I venture to think, be interpreted to mean that such psalms as existed were not regarded as being invested with a peculiar sanctity, and not that a collection of psalms was non-existent at the time of the Chronicler. As we have already seen, many express quotations from the theocratic psalms appear in Chronicles.[2] Nor is this all. In a subsequent portion of this essay wherein some inquiry will be made into the subject of the development of liturgical prayer, it will be pointed out that the Chronicler's work testifies also to the existence of the so-called Songs of Ascents.[3] A fair number of psalms at

[1] Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 128.

[2] It is manifest that some of the psalms known to the Chronicler were superscribed with musical titles and rubrics. See 1 Chron. xv. 19–21.

[3] See ch. v, *passim*, and notice also Peters, *Notes on the Pilgrim Psalter*, *J.B.L.*, xiii. 31–39; and *The Development of the Psalter* in *The New World*, 1893, p. 298.

least, then, were known to the author of Chronicles, although, as I have already indicated, they did not at that period exist in the precise form and sequence which they finally assumed. No doubt the precentors of the Temple-choirs hastened to add to the musical *repertoire* any liturgical hymns which appeared from time to time, provided they were worthy of preservation.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUSIC OF THE TEMPLE-PSALMODY

WHAT was the nature of Hebrew music employed in rendering the Temple-psalmody?[1] In the examination of this problem, the subject of *vocal* music will especially call for consideration. To survey at length the probable character of the orchestra is not necessary, because music at the period with which we are concerned was primarily vocal.[2] Instruments were regarded principally as means of accompanying voices. They were called *instruments of songs*, and musicians were known simply as *singers*. Even the melody to which psalms were sung was quite subordinated to the words.

In approaching this subject we are immediately faced by a difficult question: Did Hebrew music possess a definite tone system, and if so, what characteristics did it display? In some of the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments which are still in existence, there are to be seen depicted harps with strings of varying lengths, and also flutes with holes for the purpose of producing notes of different pitches. Here, then, is an indication that in ages earlier than that of the Restoration from Babylon some idea of tonality was not unknown. It is also to be observed that in the early days of the post-Exilic period Assyro-Babylonian influence was potent.

[1] It must be borne in mind that throughout the post-Exilic period there was development in the form of a gradual elaboration in the rendering of psalmody. We are told that in pre-Exilic times the Temple-musicians numbered 4,000 with 288 leaders. (See 1 Chron. xxiii. 5, and xxv. 7.) These figures need by no means be accepted as exact, but they certainly indicate that later, in the time of the Chronicler, the musicians formed an important order.

[2] See Appendix I, where the problem of the Temple-instrumentation is briefly examined.

Is any light thrown upon this problem by the terminology employed in the Books of Chronicles and the Psalter? Two phrases that are possibly of some value in this connexion call for consideration. The greatest controversy has taken place concerning the meaning of *'al-'ᵃlāmôth*, (*set to Alamoth*), and *'al-ha-shᵉmînîth*, (*set to the Sheminith*); and it must be admitted that the rightful interpretation of these words is specially difficult to determine.[1] The theory of Wellhausen, who would see in the former Hebrew phrase an injunction to play *upon Elamite instruments*, has little to recommend it.[2]

Attention may be directed, however, to an interpretation which, although it does not support a contention I am about to make, has, at least in some respects, the virtue of originality and freshness. I refer to a view recently propounded by Sigmund Mowinckel in an important work upon the subject of the psalms.[3] Here perhaps it may be convenient to examine the theory of this scholar somewhat in detail; his treatment of our subject certainly calls for special consideration. Mowinckel rejects the traditional interpretations of *'al-'ᵃlāmôth* and *'al-ha-shᵉmînîth*. Dealing with the former of these phrases as it occurs in 1 Chron. xv. 20–22, he urges that the reference is to an action in the liturgical service, and that in all probability it indicates a special occasion in the service where the psaltery is to be used. Similarly, the latter phrase is to be referred to an occasion in the service where the harp is required. Whether these two terms are to be referred to two different liturgical occasions or to one only, is uncertain. So, then, the Levites were required to play upon many occasions, including a special occasion known as *'al-'ᵃlāmôth*. Others were required

[1] See Pss. xlvi and vi.

[2] But Grätz (*Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, vol. i, p. 85), regards this as a possible interpretation.

[3] Mowinckel, *Die Technischen Termini in den Psalmenüberschriften*, p. 35. Vol. iv of the *Psalmenstudien*.

to play (among other occasions) upon the occasion of *'al-ha-shᵉmînîth.* This interpretation, however, is somewhat vague, and Mowinckel admits that we can only conjecture what its real meaning can be. But having made this admission, he now proceeds to offer an interesting conjecture. Turning to the LXX-version, he sees in the words ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων a translation of a different pointing of the Hebrew text viz. *'ᵃlumôth,* and in this way arrives at the striking translation *secrets.*[1] Then, connecting this word with the contents of Psalms xlvi and xlviii,[2] he contends that these psalms are to be assigned to the Festival of the Ascent to the Throne—that they belong, in other words, to the Harvest and New Year Festival when the accession of Yahweh was celebrated.[3] In this Festival something of the *mysteries* or *secrets* of Yahweh is revealed to the people. Further, Mowinckel's theory, to which there will be occasion to refer far more fully when we come to deal with the theocratic psalms and their liturgical setting, presupposes a dramatic procession, in which, by means of gestures and small *goings up,* and by some representations of the dragon myths, the Festival of Yahweh's Accession was observed. Here are the mysteries to which the word *'ᵃlumôth* is thought to refer. But one must not anticipate.

There is much that is attractive in this conjecture of Mowinckel; but it may possibly be urged that he does not substantiate his contentions sufficiently firmly to overthrow the well-established conclusions at which so many scholars have arrived. It is not easy to discover why *'al-'ᵃlāmôth* should be required to bear one interpretation in the

[1] We may note incidentally that in his suggestion of repointing the text Mowinckel was anticipated many years previously. See art. 'Book of Psalms,' by W. T. Davison, in *H.D.B.*, vol. iv. p. 153.

[2] In Ps. xlviii the words *'al-mûth* are found at the end. Mowinckel considers that we ought to read *'al-'ᵃlumôth.* And according to the versions, one *'al* has been omitted.

[3] *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie.* Vol. ii of the *Psalmenstudien* (*passim*).

Chronicles, and, with a variant pointing, an entirely different one in the Psalter. Nevertheless, this theory is not lightly to be dismissed. Much investigation in a subject of this kind must necessarily lead to results which are purely conjectural, and in the present instance there is a presumption in favour of keeping the conclusions of Mowinckel in suspense.

We should, however, be reluctant to reject the well-worn theory whereby *'al-'ᵃlāmôth* is connected with *'almâ* and the phrase is interpreted as containing a reference to instruments of a high pitch, similar, indeed, to the pitch of the female voice.[1] This theory offers a satisfactory explanation of the words. There seems, moreover, to be nothing improbable in the contention that *shᵉmînîth* is to be translated *eight*, and that in the phrase *'al-ha-shᵉmînîth* we have a reference to instruments tuned eight intervals lower than the pitch of the female voice; in other words, it appears to be the case that some kind of octave formed the basis of a tonal system in Hebrew music.[2]

Something may indeed be said for the view that the existence of a tonal system must be presupposed if we are to explain the Chronicler's apparent reference to unison music: *It came to pass, when the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord . . .*[3] A unison would be an impossibility were there no definite system of tonality.[4] But the precise meaning of the Hebrew words underlying this

[1] See Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms* (trans. by D. Eaton), vol. i, p. 168; vol. ii, p. 108.

[2] It should also be observed that *'al-'ᵃlāmôth* occurs in conjunction with *'al-ha-shᵉmînîth*; hence one may conclude that the two phrases are intended to bear a somewhat similar interpretation.

[3] 2 Chron. v. 13.

[4] There is no authority for supposing that the fundamental note in Hebrew music was necessarily that now designated as the Tonic. If there was a system of tonality, it seems probable that the octave was divided into two tetrachords and that the fundamental note was the first note of the *second* tetrachord.

passage is uncertain because the trumpets were not used in the Temple for the purpose of accompanying the voices; they were sounded, as we shall see later, at certain pauses in the psalmody, and the blowing of the trumpets was not simultaneous with the singing.[1]

It seems wisest, then, to lay little stress upon the above-quoted words of the Chronicler. At this point, however, it may be convenient to make some further observations with regard to the character of Hebrew music in post-Exilic days. Scholars have occasionally seen in this passage an indication that harmony was unknown to the Hebrews in the third century B.C. It is difficult to suppose that they had any knowledge of harmony if that word is used in its strictly technical sense.[2] Yet one is not justified in concluding that such was the case by pressing unduly the Chronicler's statement.

Let us briefly pursue this inquiry. It is not to be denied that the Hebrews had some elementary conception of harmony in their instrumental accompaniment. At a much earlier period than this, there were, as we have seen, wind and stringed instruments capable of producing notes at different pitches; occasionally, then, distinct intervals must surely have been sounded. The question is, to some extent, bound up with a problem to which reference has already been made in another connexion, namely, the influence of Greek music upon that of the Hebrews. An examination of ancient Greek music throws light upon our subject.[3] It would appear that in their instrumentation the Greeks exhibited some conception of harmony, but no definite *system* of harmony was known to them.

Two instruments, however, they certainly used which

[1] See ch. vii. The reference is to the *metal* trumpets, not to the horns.

[2] See art. 'Music' (Hebrew), *H.D.R.E.*, vol. ix, p. 41.

[3] See Monro, *The Modes of Ancient Greek Music*. One may venture to differ from this scholar, however, when he asserts that the Greeks possessed a knowledge of diminished intervals.

were capable of producing more than one note at a time, a stringed instrument belonging to the harp family and a reed instrument consisting of two pipes which were sounded by one performer.[1] On the other hand, harmony was entirely unknown in the *vocal* music of the Greeks.[2] There is nothing surprising in this conclusion, because it will be remembered that even at the present time polyphonic music can be neither appreciated nor understood by some Eastern peoples. We may safely conclude that the Hebrews had but small conception of harmony in their instrumentation, and none at all in their vocal music.

At this point some of the essential traits displayed by the melodies which were used for the purpose of rendering the Temple-psalmody may be noticed.[3] Short and simple *motifs*, with a range of pitch not very extensive, were probably employed.[4] An idea of the character and potenti-

[1] It is difficult to believe that the musicians who used the former of these two instruments could have failed to notice the possibility of striking several strings of varying pitch in rapid arpeggio fashion, even if they were not accustomed to the practice of sounding two or more notes at the same moment.

[2] Aristotle has two distinct references to harmony in our modern sense. The Greek word is *antiphon* (*τὸ ἀντίφωνον*), and he explains that it is the result produced by singing a certain note and the same note an octave above, thus producing the sound heard when men and boys sing together. (*Problemata*, Appendix 39.) He further points out that the intervals of a fourth and a fifth (i.e. the other "perfect consonances") are not permissible in vocal music. (*Ib.* 17, 18.)

This interpretation of Aristotle's well-known statements is sustained in that masterly work of F. A. Gevaert and J. C. Vollgraff, *Les Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote* (Gand, 1903), see pp. 155–158. Note especially the remark made with reference to the thesis propounded in Problem No. 18. "Cette phrase enonce un des principles fondamentaux de la musique des Anciens: l'unite absolue de la melodie vocale . . ." (p. 156).

[3] The Hebrew accents represent a musical value, but one of a much later period than that with which we are concerned. The accents were inserted in Christian times, and consequently throw no light whatever upon the present subject.

[4] If, as I have suggested elsewhere (ch. v, p. 64), some psalms were sung antiphonally, the melodies used must necessarily have been fairly short, while the same melody probably served for many verses in succession.

NOTE: Many writers appear to err in attributing to the Hebrews a much

alities of the melodies may be gained from a survey of the Hebrew psalter-text. The varying lengths of the strophes lead one to suppose that the singing was a kind of recitative with a few inflections, many syllables and even words being sung upon a single note.[1] Vocal music in Greek and Roman temples of antiquity exhibited such characteristics as these. It is, moreover, a well-established conclusion that Greek music was, in its origin, merely a method of reciting poetry.[2] The elasticity and flexibility of the Temple-melodies must have been one of their most noteworthy features.

In the earlier decades of the post-Exilic period some of the psalms were sung to popular melodies, and indeed very naturally so, because the religious life of Israel was closely bound up with its national life. The most striking corroboration of this conclusion is to be found in the words that are probably the title of a vintage-song, superscribed to Psalms lvii, lviii, lix and lxxv.[3] Doubtless a popular traditional melody was used for the purpose of rendering these psalms. The following psalms also were probably sung to popular tunes: v, viii, ix, xxii, xlv, liii, lvi, lx, lxix, lxxx, lxxxi and lxxxiv.[4] It is important to notice the relatively early position of these psalms in the Psalter, which suggests that the custom of singing psalms to popular melodies was not

higher standard of musical development in post-Exilic times than it is reasonable to suppose actually existed. Thus Naumann, for instance (*History of Music*, Eng. trans., vol. i, p. 76), contends that they possessed a knowledge of diminished intervals. Stainer (*Music of the Bible*, pp. 192 ff.) falls into the error of anticipating an elaboration which did not take place until a later date than that which he suggests.

[1] But note the conclusion of James Millar, art. 'Music' in *H.D.B.*, vol. iii, p. 457. It is here contended that the "vocal music of the Hebrews is a lost and unknown art."

[2] Some writers, e.g. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt* (Einleitung, § 6, p. xxvi) suppose that psalms used in liturgical worship had a definite metrical scheme of their own. But no sufficient indication of this appears to be forthcoming. It is improbable that the psalms were always rendered in one particular way.

[3] i.e. the words 'Destroy not.' Cf. also Isa. lxv. 8.

[4] See C. H. Cornill's view: *Music in the Old Testament*, p. 22.

existent at a later period in the history of psalmody. There is no trace of such a custom indicated in the psalms that were composed, or at least issued as liturgical collections, after the introduction of the courses and the elaboration of the psalmody. By that time such melodies were not deemed suitable for the purposes of worship, but music which was more in accordance with the solemnities of the Temple-worship took their place. It would be interesting, however, to discover whether a well-known musical *motif* may not frequently have been used for the purpose of rendering a verse or phrase recurring several times in a psalm. If this were the case, the repeated words were perhaps sung by the congregation alone, not by the liturgical choir.[1]

There is a further problem to be considered. Is it probable that women were allowed to sing in the Temple-choirs of post-Exilic times, or does evidence indicate that they were excluded from so doing? Certain passages in the Chronicler's work appear to have a direct bearing upon this subject. Notice the following: *And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations, unto this day; and they made them an ordinance in Israel: and behold, they are written in the lamentations.*[2] *And they had two hundred forty and five singing men and singing women.*[3] *And they had two hundred singing men and singing women.*[4] Can any ground be discovered for supposing that the *singing women* mentioned in these excerpts took part in the liturgical singing of post-Exilic times? None whatever. On other occasions the Chronicler expressly refers to the musicians of the Temple, but when he does so he gives no indication that women were included in their numbers. It was in the

[1] Cf. ch. v, p. 64 (footnote 3).
[2] 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.
[3] Neh. vii. 67b.
[4] Ezra ii. 65b.

NOTE: See the arguments of Peritz: *Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult, J.B.L.*, vol. xvii, p. 144; the conclusions of whom, however, appear to be disproved by Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (1st series), pp. 381 ff.

sphere of secular music only that women assumed a position of prominence. In the second Temple they were required to remain in their own special court. A piece of evidence does exist, however, which at first sight seems to afford proof that the contention that women took a definite part in the liturgical service is justified. It runs in the English version thus: *All these were the sons of Heman the king's seer in the words of God, to lift up the horn. And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters. All these were under the hands of their father for song in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God; Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman being under the order of the king.*[1] But more exactly it may be translated as follows: *All these are the sons of Heman, the king's seer in the words of God: (in order to lift up his horn* (i.e. to give him prosperity) *God bestowed upon Heman fourteen sons and three daughters*).[2] *All these* (namely, sons) *stood under the hand* (i.e. under the direction) *of their father in the singing of the Temple of Yahweh, with cymbals, psalteries and harps, for the service of the house of God, in accordance with the direction of the king, Asaph, Jeduthun and Heman.*[3]

The point to be noticed is that *the clause referring to the daughters of Heman is a parenthesis,* introduced in order to show how large a family God bestowed upon him; and the reference at the beginning of verse 5 is continued at the beginning of verse 6. Otherwise this passage would contradict all other passages relating to this subject, and also the whole tradition concerning it that exists.

Another point of evidence requiring consideration is a well-known passage in Psalm lxviii: *It is well seen, O God, how thou goest: how thou, my God and King, goest in the sanctuary. The singers go before, the minstrels follow after: in the midst are the damsels playing with the timbrels.*[4] Have

[1] 1 Chron. xxv, 5, 6. [2] Verse 5. [3] Verse 6.
[4] Ps. lxviii. 24, 25 (Prayer Book trans.).

we here a description of a pre-Exilic procession? It is true that four tribes appear and take their part in the ceremony. The psalmist sees also another procession in which kings are bringing their presents to Yahweh at Jerusalem. But *in its present form* the psalm is undoubtedly post-Exilic; it may even be plausibly assigned to the Maccabæan period. A theory developed by the late Dr. C. J. Ball, who built upon a suggestion thrown out in the first place by Wellhausen, is of considerable interest and importance.[1] Dr. Ball saw in this psalm the description of an exploit in the land of Gilead, by which Judas Maccabæus rescued some of his fellow *Ḥasidim* who were being hard pressed by their enemies.[2] Additional confirmation of this theory is given by Dr. St. John Thackeray, who points out that the achievement of Judas celebrated in this psalm coincided with the Feast of Pentecost, and that 'the Psalm commemorates a double event, both the victory and the wheat-harvest.'[3] It should be noticed, then, that although the psalm was destined ultimately to be used liturgically at the Feast of Pentecost, the procession described therein is not a liturgical procession in the Temple. Even if the hypothesis thus briefly indicated be rejected, and the words of the psalmist be interpreted as a reference to some worshippers ascending to the house of Yahweh, one is not thereby justified in concluding that the women would continue to accompany the procession after the Temple had actually been reached. Finally, an examination of the Hebrew text indicates, beyond dispute, that the familiar rendering of one English version is inaccurate and misleading.[4] The words *bethôk ʿalāmôth tôphēphôth* are not to be translated *in the midst are*

[1] Art. on Psalm lxviii in *J.T.S.*, vol. xi, 1910.

[2] Notice incidentally the theory of Mr. W. W. Cannon: *The 68th Psalm* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1922). This theory assails the contention of Dr. Ball, but it is unconvincing.

[3] Thackeray, *The LXX and Jewish Worship*, p. 58.

[4] Prayer Book version.

the damsels playing with the timbrels, but they are to be connected with the earlier portion of the verse, the whole of which may then be read thus: *the singers go before, afterwards the players on stringed instruments, in the midst of damsels playing on timbrels.* We conclude, then, that this psalm-passage does not in the least degree controvert the contention that women were not included in the Temple-choirs of the post-Exilic Jewish Church.

CHAPTER V

LITURGICAL PRAYER AT THE TIME OF THE CHRONICLER

THE history of the development of Jewish liturgical prayer is an interesting and important subject. To a considerable extent it is bound up with a further subject—the history of the participation of the laity in the Temple-worship. Any systematic study of the present synagogal liturgy must be preceded by a review of these problems, which may also be regarded from a different point of view, being summed up briefly as a history of the development of *prayer*, in contradistinction to the history of the development of the *sacrificial system*.

In early pre-Exilic times worship assumed a form which it would be difficult to dignify by the title 'liturgical.' On the other hand, in post-Exilic days, side by side with the tendency towards elaboration in the sacrificial worship, there was a corresponding elaboration in the worship of prayer and praise. Liturgical prayer, lacking grandeur and dignity in its origin, received considerable impetus and was greatly improved by the time of the Chronicler—a conclusion amply confirmed by an examination of his records.

One has only to read a few chapters of the Chronicles in order to realize that there exists a striking affinity between some of the language of the Chronicler and that of the psalmists. The Psalter, indeed, exercised a profound influence upon the form which the liturgy assumed, and one may see embedded in Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah fragments of a liturgical vocabulary exhibiting no fancied similarity to that essentially liturgical work, and con-

taining, moreover, not a few express quotations from it. Subjoined is a list of passages to which reference may be made in support of this contention.[1] Notice especially the passage commencing at Nehemiah ix. 6.[2]

Continuing our survey of the Chronicler's writings, we notice several prayers of a distinctly liturgical character recorded therein.[3] Such prayers as these may well have been solemnly offered on behalf of the worshippers in the pre-Herodian Temple.[4] More express confirmation of this theory is found in certain passages wherein some reference to liturgical prayer is contained.[5] Notice specially the important passage wherein the sacred historian writes of

[1] 1 Chron. v. 20; xii. 33; (xvi.); xxix. 10, 12; 2 Chron. ii, 5; v. 13; vi. 2, 14 and 42; xiv. 11; xx (*passim*); xxx. 9; Ezra iii. 11; ix. 6–14; Neh. i. 6; iv. 4–8; v. 13; viii. 6; ix. 6 ff. to end of chapter. This list is not an exhaustive one.

[2] This passage, a song of praise, is attributed to the Levites by the Hebrew. But in the LXX it is placed upon the lips of Ezra. Previously in the chapter we are told (verse 3) that the Israelites confessed their sins. Does this statement throw any light upon the subject? Hunter (*After the Exile*, vol. ii. p. 201, note) points out that 'the section ix, 6–37, is much less like a chant of the Levites, drawn from the Psalms, than a penitential prayer, made by one man, and drawn from the Pentateuch.'

[3] See 1 Chron. xxix. 10 ff.; 2 Chron. vi. 14 ff.; xiv. 11 ff.; xx. 6 ff.; Ezra ix. 6 ff.; Neh. i. 6 ff., and ix. 6 ff. There is also much liturgical prayer (and some prayer obviously unliturgical) scattered throughout post-Exilic literature, especially in Daniel (see ix. 4 ff.), Maccabees, Judith, 2 Esdras (see viii. 19–36), and Enoch. A very fine example of prayer in later elaborated form is to be seen in the Book of Wisdom, ch. ix.

Notice that the end of the prayer ascribed to Solomon in 2 Chron. vi. differs from that recorded in 1 Kings viii. The Hebrew and Greek texts also differ, and it would appear that the true text is not actually defined. Quite possibly at the end of the prayer we have another compilation of the Chronicler. See also art. 'Prayer' in *J.E.* (vol. x, p. 164), where it is pointed out that this prayer includes every form of prayer.

[4] In a subsequent portion of this essay, after a survey of the praise-section in the modern synagogue-liturgy, an effort will be made to indicate the structure of the Temple-liturgy as it probably existed at the time of the Chronicler. See ch. xvii, which should be read in conjunction with the present chapter.

[5] See Neh. xi. 17; 1 Chron. xxiii. 30; and 2 Chron. vii. 3; in addition, of course, to the section considered at some length in a previous chapter—1 Chron. xvi.

Mattaniah . . . who was the chief to begin the thanksgiving in prayer.[1]

It is not contended that the prayers recorded by the Chronicler are in every instance fitted for liturgical use. In 1 Chron. xvii. 16 there is a prayer which is unquestionably of a free and extempore character, and such prayers as this afford good ground for the supposition that at the period with which we are concerned the liturgy of the Temple, still in a state of fluidity from a textual point of view, was supplemented by the use of unprepared, unliturgical oraisons to Yahweh.

Passing to a later age we find this conclusion amply confirmed by the Rabbinical literature, for the Rabbis insisted that certain formulæ of liturgical prayer were definitely fixed and unalterable.[2] They urged, on the other hand, the desirability of extempore prayer.[3] But the customs of Rabbinical Judaism cannot have sprung up in a day.

To what extent did the laity participate in liturgical worship at the time of the Chronicler? Fortunately we are again provided with a certain amount of evidence. It has already been noted that the author of Chronicles, wishing to illustrate the character of psalmody popular in his day, ventured upon a significant alteration of the text of the Psalter when he recorded that, at the conclusion of the singing, all the people said Amen, and praised the Lord.[4] We have here a definite historical statement throwing light upon our subject—a statement, moreover, which may well be accepted as trustworthy. But the

[1] The passage from Nehemiah.

[2] See A. Cohen, *The Babylonian Talmud. Tractate Berākōt.* Translated into English with Introduction and Commentory, p. 194. The reference is to the *Eighteen Benedictions*. Concerning the probable date of this prayer some observations will be made later. See ch. xvii of this essay.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 195. The tractate further prescribes that under certain circumstances set formulæ of prayer might be abbreviated. See, e.g., p. 9 of translation.

[4] 1 Chron. xvi. 36. See p. 38, and also later in this chapter, p. 62.

Chronicler is explicit on more than one occasion. A popular response in the form of a well-known liturgical formula is placed upon the lips of the laity in a description of the Dedication of Solomon's Temple. We read that on that historic occasion all the children of Israel *bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipped, and gave thanks unto the Lord, saying, For he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.*[1] The custom observed in the Chronicler's own age is, of course, reflected in this passage. Continuing our survey, we notice that at the drastic reformation effected by Hezekiah, *all the congregation worshipped*; such worship was probably not merely of a private and silent character.[2] We pass now to a description of the rebuilding of the Temple after the Exile. When the foundation of that Temple was laid, *all the people shouted with a great shout.*[3] The words of the Chronicler are somewhat ambiguous, but they seem to indicate some participation by the laity in the public worship. Further evidence is to be found in the description of Nehemiah zealously contending with his people and drawing from them certain promises of amendment: *Also I shook out my lap, and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise; even thus be he shaken out, and emptied. And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised the Lord.*[4] In a subsequent chapter Ezra is seen about to read his publication of the Priestly writings. It was a dramatic moment. When the famous scribe opened his scroll, *all the people stood up: and Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God. And all the people answered, Amen, Amen, with the lifting up of their hands: and they*

[1] 2 Chron. vii. 3; cf. p. 64 (footnote 3).

[2] 2 Chron. xxix. 28, 29. Notice also 1 Macc. iv. 55, Sirach l. 16–17, and Tobit viii. 8; some of the evidence of later days.

[3] Ezra iii. 11. See also the remarks of Batten, *op. cit.*, p. 122, upon this passage, and a review of J. A. Brewer upon that commentary (*A.J.T.*, 1915).

[4] Neh. v. 13.

bowed their heads, and worshipped the Lord with their faces to the ground.[1]

We have now collected from the work of the Chronicler evidence which is sufficient to show that as early as the third century B.C. the laity were by no means merely mute spectators of Temple-worship. This conclusion is further confirmed by certain words in the Psalter, since, as we have noticed already, there is recorded in that book a very definite injunction: *And let all the people say, Amen. Hallelujah.*[2] These words happen to form a conclusion to the fourth book of the Psalter.[3] They are, however, the concluding words of Psalm cvi, and must be regarded as a liturgical direction actually addressed to the people.[4]

Dr. Edersheim urges that the laity never responded to the prayers in the Temple by saying Amen, but always with the well-known benediction, *Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever.*[5] This benediction is of considerable antiquity, but we may venture to question whether it was in use as early as the days of the Chronicler. In any case Dr. Edersheim's conclusion that the people never responded with Amen in the Temple—a conclusion which is, I presume, based upon a certain statement in the Talmud [6]—appears to be controverted by the evidence adduced in this present chapter.

[1] *Neh.*, viii. 5, 6.

[2] Ps. cvi. 48. Cf. p. 60. See also art. 'Praise in Old Testament,' in *H.D.B.*, vol. iv, p. 33.

[3] They do not form the end of a *group of psalms*. The division here cuts across a group, and is purely artificial.

[4] Elmslie (*The Books of Chronicles*, p. 53) accepts this argument. He is unconvincing, however, when he suggests that the fivefold division of the Psalter had already been effected by the time of the Chronicler. If the doxology which closes the fourth book of the Psalter be compared with those which close the other books, a striking difference will be noticed. In the one instance we have *Amen. Hallelujah*; in the others *Amen and Amen*.

[5] Edersheim, *The Temple, its Ministry and Services*, p. 155.

[6] The Talmud tells us that *Amen* was said in the synagogue only. See T.B. *Taan.* 16b, and a translation of the tractate, by Greenup, pp. 15, 16.

The congregational responses were, at the time of the Chronicler, confined to certain set and well-known words and formulæ, such as those which we have seen to be embedded in Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah and the Psalter.[1] Here, however, is to be found the commencement of definite congregational worship which in later days was to achieve a far-reaching development.[2]

Before concluding this chapter we may briefly consider one more question which is, in some degree, connected with the present subject. To what extent, if any, was the practice of antiphonal singing employed by the Hebrews? The evidence throwing light upon this problem is not to be assigned exclusively to the age of the Chronicler. It would appear that even in pre-Exilic times some method of antiphonal singing was not unknown.[3] Further, post-Exilic evidence testifies definitely to the practice of responsive singing sustained between two choirs of musicians. Let us glance at this evidence. In the first place it may be questioned whether a well-known passage in Ezra, to which reference has already been made in this chapter, gives us any definite information upon the subject.[4] The late Dean of Westminster saw in the words *And they sang one to*

[1] Cf. p. 29, and earlier in the present chapter, p. 58.

[2] In the last two books of the Psalter many more references to the congregation are found than in the case of the other books. This is an indication that the congregational element had become quite prominent by the time of the final redaction of the Psalter.

NOTE: The word *Amen* had, in pre-Exilic times, been used merely to express a wish or desire in ordinary conversation. By the time of the Chronicler, however, it had been invested with a certain dignity, having assumed a liturgical significance. In an interesting article upon this word (*J.Q.R.* 1897) Mr. Hogg showed that the usage thereof in the LXX exhibits such a development. In the Pentateuch *'āmēn* is translated *γένοιτο* (may it be), or *ἀληθῶς* (truly), so also in the prophets and psalmists. But in Chronicles it is simply transliterated. One may conclude, then, that the word was gradually becoming more liturgical, as there seemed to be less need to translate it.

[3] See Exod, xv. 21, and 1 Sam. xviii. 7.

[4] Ezra iii. 9–11.

another in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, an indication that the song of the musicians was answered by a chorus chanting the popular refrain: *For He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever toward Israel.*[1] This is probably the true interpretation of the passage, but the word *wa-ya'anû* may possibly imply more than the mere interpolation of a liturgical formula sung by the laity. If it indicates regular antiphonal singing between two official choirs, its evidence would, of course, controvert the conclusion suggested earlier in this chapter where there was seen in the Chronicler's words an apparent witness to a somewhat prominent position assumed by the body of worshippers in the Temple-service. But testimony more convincing than that of this passage in Ezra is fortunately forthcoming. We read in Nehemiah that the governor *appointed two great companies that gave thanks.*[2] These two choirs sang *ward against ward,* (*mishmār le'ummath mishmār*) and moved in procession in contrary directions.

The conclusions to which we are thus obviously led are more strongly enforced when we turn to the canonical Psalter. Many psalms show by their structure that they were intended by their authors to be sung antiphonally.[3] Psalm xxiv is a song of triumph well suited—especially in its concluding verses—for responsive singing. This belief is in no way inconsistent with an important theory of Mowinckel, who urges that the psalm was specifically used

[1] Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah, ad loc.*

[2] Neh. xii. 24, 31 and 40.

[3] The Parallelism naturally lends itself to this method of rendering the psalms. Sometimes the alternating may have been made at the half-verse; sometimes at the end of the verse. There is the possibility that in the case of Psalms cxxxvi and cxviii, verses 1–4, the popular refrain in the latter half of the verses (*For His mercy endureth for ever*) was chanted by the laity, and not by a special choir of musicians. (Cf. the remarks on p. 54.) It is improbable that the psalms were always rendered in a precisely similar manner. One half of a verse may occasionally have been sung by a precentor, the other half by a Levitical choir. Sometimes two choirs were employed.

in a liturgical procession at the Feast of Divine Accession to which allusion has already been made.[1] The superscription of Psalm lxxxviii furnishes a hint which should not be ignored: *A Song, a Psalm of the sons of Korah; for the Chief Musician; set to Mahalath Leannoth. Maschil of Heman the Ezrahite.* One may plausibly conjecture that the word rendered *Leannoth* indicates antiphonal singing, and perhaps we have here an allusion to the two divisions of Levites headed respectively by *the Ezrahite Heman* and *the Ezrahite Ethan.*[2] Certainly the LXX-superscription lends additional weight to this conclusion: *A song of a Psalm for the sons of Core for the end, upon Maeleth for responsive (strains), of instruction for Æman the Israelite.* Notice especially the significant words τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι.

The small Psalter, known usually as the Songs of Ascents or the Pilgrim Psalter, has been thought to contain psalms which were sung antiphonally by Levites and pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem.[3] In Psalm cxxxiv the antiphonal structure is clearly visible. The first two verses of this psalm appear to be an exhortation addressed by a body of worshippers to the priests and Levites keeping watch in the Temple during the night. The third and final verse is the answer given from within the Temple.

1. *Behold, bless ye the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord, who by night stand in the house of the Lord.*
2. *Lift up your hands to the sanctuary, and bless ye the Lord.*

* * * * *

3. *The Lord bless thee out of Sion; even He that made heaven and earth.*

[1] See p. 49, and later ch. x, *passim.*

[2] See Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, p. 93.

[3] Oesterley, 'The Jewish use of the Psalter' (*Church and Synagogue*, April 1907, vol. ix, No. 2). Cf. the theory of Mowinckel concerning the use of these psalms, wherein the *Ascent* referred to their superscriptions is regarded as a technical reference to the ascent of the ark at the Feast of Accession. Mow. *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 92, 112, etc.

Reference has already been made to the antiphonal structure of Psalm cxxxvi. Closely connected with this is the uncanonical psalm found in the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus li, which is equally well fitted for responsive singing.

Parts of the Hallel were also almost certainly divided between two choirs of musicians. Delitzsch, basing his remarks upon the evidence of Maimonides, urges that the worshippers joined in some psalms of the Hallel after the first clause by repeating that clause, and that after the second clause they sang Hallelujah.[1] Psalm cxviii, again, another Temple-hymn used liturgically, definitely exhibits the antiphonal structure.

We have finally to notice Psalm cxlv. It possesses at least one trait that deserves special consideration. Sometimes the third person of the verb is used; sometimes this is not the case. Sometimes Yahweh is addressed; sometimes there is a mere statement A perfectly satisfactory explanation of this somewhat strange form is found if we suppose more than one choir to have been engaged in the rendering of the psalm.

[1] See Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms* (trans.), vol. i, p. 41 (the reference is to *Hilcoth Megilla*, 3); and cf. also Wellhausen, *The Psalms*, p. 218.

CHAPTER VI

BEN SIRA, PSEUDO-ARISTEAS, AND JOSEPHUS

We can ask for no better evidence than that of one who took a sympathetic and joyful part in the actual ceremonial of the Temple. Some of the evidence furnished by one who rejoiced to assist in the solemnities of the Temple-worship has already been considered. It is the purpose of the present chapter to survey some descriptions of that worship as recorded by three authors who claim to have been actual eyewitnesses. A few preliminary remarks about the trustworthiness of the record in each case will not be out of place.

The Wisdom of Ben Sira, or the Son of Sirach, is a most important book included in our Apocrypha. Originally written from the point of view of the Sadducæan priesthood, this Hebrew work subsequently received—as I think Smend was the first to indicate—recension from the pen of a Pharisee.[1] The alterations thus made do not appear, however, in certain important Greek MSS. Notice the splendid description of the High Priest in chapter l. It was written during the first half of the second century B.C. :[2]

How glorious was he when he looked forth from the Tent,
And when he came out from the Sanctuary!
Like a morning-star between the clouds,
And like the full moon on the feast days;
Like the sun shining upon the Temple of the Most High,
And like the rainbow becoming visible in the cloud;

* * * * *

[1] See also Hart, *Ecclesiasticus in Greek.*

[2] Quoted from the translation of Box and Oesterley. *The Book of Sirach*, in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.* Edited by Dr. Charles, p. 508.

When he put on his glorious robes,
And clothed himself in perfect splendour,
When he went up to the altar of majesty,
And made glorious the court of the sanctuary ;
When he took the portions from the hand of his brethren,
While standing by the blocks of wood,
Around him the garland of his sons,
Like young cedar-trees in Lebanon ;
And like willows by the brook did they surround him,
All the sons of Aaron in their glory,
And the Lord's fire-offering in their hands,
In the presence of the whole congregation of Israel.
Until he had finished the service of the altar
And arranging the rows of wood of the Most High,
(And) stretched forth his hand to the cup,
And poured out of the blood of the grape ;
Yea, poured (it) out at the foot of the altar,
A sweet-smelling savour to the Most High, the All-King.
Then the sons of Aaron sounded
With the trumpets of beaten work ;
Yea, they sounded and caused a mighty blast to be heard
For a remembrance before the Most High.
(Then) all flesh hasted together
And fell upon their faces to the earth,
To worship before the Most High,
Before the Holy One of Israel.
And the sound of the song was heard,
And over the multitude they made sweet melody ;
And all the people of the land cried
In prayer before the Merciful,
Until he had finished the service of the altar,
And His ordinances had brought him nigh unto Him.
Then he descended, and lifted up his hands
Upon the whole congregation of Israel,
And the blessing of the Lord (was) upon his lips,

And he glorified himself with the name of the Lord.
And again they fell down, (now) to receive
The pardon of God from him.

What reference is contained in this passage? Sirach is describing the High Priest about to offer sacrifice on the Day of Atonement.[1] It is to be remembered that whereas the High Priest was permitted to officiate whenever he wished throughout the year, he was only *obliged* to do so on this solemn day and during the seven preceding days; and for his duty on the Day of Atonement itself a most careful preparation was necessary. The ceremonial injunctions demanded by the proper observance of the Atonement Day are to be found in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, and the passage from Sirach should be read in conjunction with that chapter. It is interesting to notice that in the synagogue-liturgy for *Yom Kippur* there is a description somewhat similar to that given by Sirach.[2] Finally, the words of Sirach should be compared with the detailed account of the ceremonies recorded in the Mishnah tractate *Yoma*.[3] A perusal of liturgy and tractate leads to the conclusion that Sirach's description of the High Priest is not exaggerated, and there is no reason to suppose he was not an eyewitness of the Temple-solemnities.

A strange and interesting light is thrown upon the subject of the Temple-worship in the so-called *Letter of Aristeas*. This pseudepigraph is not all that it claims to be. Its historical witness is often untrustworthy, and the falsity of the supposition that it was written by a heathen officer of Ptolemy Philadelphus to his brother during the days of

[1] Cf. also Sirach xlv. 6–13.

[2] See Davis, 'Service of the Synagogue' (vol. on *Day of Atonement*), pp. 167, 168.

[3] See two articles, 'The Day of Atonement in the Temple according to Rabbinical Tradition,' *Church and Synagogue*, vol. xi, pp. 142 ff., and vol. xii, pp. 49 ff. These articles include an annotated translation of *Yoma*.

Queen Arsinoe has been clearly indicated. Indeed, in many respects the epistle conveys a misleading impression, and the work of distinguishing its legendary portions from its historical truths has involved scholars in a difficult task.

This being the case, it is necessary to inquire what value may be attached to a description of Jerusalem and the Temple-service contained in §§ lxxxiii–cxx. Does Pseudo-Aristeas give any indication of having borrowed material from extraneous sources? If so, the details of his work with which we are more specifically concerned may have to be regarded as an account of secondary quality which has lost accuracy in transmission. To one writer only, Hecatæus of Abdera,[1] does he appear to owe any debt (§ xxxi). This author is ostensibly quoted by Pseudo-Aristeas as an authority for the idea that the pagan Greeks omitted any reference to the Jewish Law in their writings, simply because of its sacred character. Josephus is probably correct in his statement that Hecatæus actually wrote a book concerning the Jews.[2] This piece of evidence is, I venture to think, by no means negligible in the present inquiries, because the *possibility* exists that Pseudo-Aristeas may have copied his description of Temple-worship from Hecatæus.

It would appear, however, that in the portions of the letter with which we are especially concerned Pseudo-Aristeas gives a description which indicates by its extreme vividness the hand of an actual eyewitness. Here may be quoted some words of Dr. Thackeray which have a direct bearing upon the point at issue. 'Surely,' he writes, 'we are inclined to say, this man was a spectator of the waving curtain or veil at the entrance of the Temple (§ xxxvi), and was given proof on the spot of the existence of the under-

[1] Hecatæus was contemporary with Alexander the Great.

[2] *Con. Ap.* I, xxiii. See Thackeray's translation, *Josephus*, vol. i, p. 237, and notice especially footnote on that page.

ground cisterns beneath and around the Temple-area (§§ lxxxix–xci), of which we learn from other sources.'[1] When the criterion used by Dr. Thackeray is applied to the description of Temple-worship contained in § xcii, we are led to conclude that in this passage we have the trustworthy evidence of an actual eyewitness of the solemnities which accompanied the offering of the daily sacrifice at Jerusalem. Here is the description, which I quote from the translation referred to previously: *The priests' ministration in its exhibition of physical strength and in its orderly and silent performance could in no way be surpassed. . . . For they all of their own free will undergo labours requiring much endurance, and each has his appointed task. . . . The deepest silence prevails, so that one would suppose that there was not a single person in the place, although the ministers in attendance number some seven hundred, not to mention the large multitude of those who bring their sacrifices to be offered; everything is performed with reverence and in a manner worthy of the Divine Majesty.*[2] There follows a description of the high priest's vestments.

The point that especially excites our interest in the above passage is the absence of any reference to the singing of psalms. Are we to believe that the author of this letter was unimpressed by the music of the Temple-psalmody? Perhaps the solemn silence which was maintained while the officiating priest entered the *Hêkal* to perform the rite of offering incense impressed him more profoundly.[3]

Lastly, the nature of the evidence supplied by Josephus

[1] *The Letter of Aristeas*, edited by Thackeray in *Translations of Early Documents*, Series ii, p. xi.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 42.

[3] See St. Luke i. 8 ff.: *Now it came to pass while he executed the priest's office before God in the order of his course, according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to enter into the temple of the Lord and burn incense. And the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the hour of incense. And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord, standing on the right side of the altar of incense.*

concerning the Temple-service must be briefly considered. It has often been pointed out that the Jewish historian was actuated by influences which had the effect of rendering much of his work untrustworthy. A partial explanation of this may be found in the not unreasonable belief that Josephus was desirous of sweeping away the widespread prejudices that existed against his own countrymen. He was, moreover, eager to exalt his nation in the eyes of his readers, and especially in the eyes of the Romans.[1] Thus, to give but one instance, he omits to record the worship of the golden calf.

A caution, then, must be exercised in reading the works of Josephus. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that he was a priest, and as such must actually have taken part in the service of the Temple; hence his description of the musical arrangements is not to be deemed unworthy of attention. Josephus, moreover, was really interested in the subject of Temple-worship; he intended to write a book upon it, although this intention was never actually carried out.[2]

What, then, is the evidence that is recorded by Josephus? He appears to give an exaggerated account of the orchestra of the first Temple, assigning to it 200,000 silver trumpets and 40,000 harps and psalteries.[3] Notice also the following record:[4] *And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters: he made also instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the Sabbath-day, and*

[1] See Ryle, Canon of O. T., p. 159, and Thackeray in an essay on Josephus in *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity*.

[2] See *Bell. Jud.*, V. v. 8. In the Greek text edited by Niese, see p. 467.

[3] *Ant.* VIII, iii. 8.

[4] *Ib.*, VII, xii. 3. I quote from Whiston's translation of *Ant.*, edited by Margoliouth.

on other festivals.[1] *Now the construction of the instruments was thus: the viol was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played upon by the fingers; the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments that the readers may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.*

Some features in this description certainly suggest exaggeration.[2] On the other hand, however, it must undoubtedly contain a substratum of actual fact.

[1] The description of the psalms as similar to Greek poems is interesting.
[2] The description of the Temple in *Bell. Jud.*, V. v., contains similar features.

CHAPTER VII

THE DAILY SACRIFICE

THE privilege of worshipping while the daily sacrifice was being offered was regarded by the faithful Israelite as his greatest consolation and joy. Here was to be found an outward expression of the living faith of the post-Exilic Jewish Church which gave clearness of spiritual vision, and revealed, in a supernatural way, the presence of the eternally Holy. It is not within the scope of the present inquiry to enter into any detailed examination of the ceremonial which accompanied the offering of that sacrifice. The psalmody came towards the conclusion of the ceremonies. In the case of the morning sacrifice, after many preliminary duties had been performed, the victim was slaughtered and its blood sprinkled on the altar. The sacrifice was divided into portions, and these portions, with certain other necessary offerings, were carried severally by priests, specially designated for the duty, to the altar-ascent.

There followed a service of prayer and benedictions, concerning which the precise details cannot definitely be determined.[1] It would appear that the priests recited a benediction, the ten commandments, the *Shema'*, and three more benedictions. But the passage from the Mishnah which describes the offering of the daily sacrifice is, at this point, susceptible of more than one interpretation.[2] Whether the service of prayer was at this point recited by the priests alone in the 'Hall of Polished Stones,' or publicly in the Temple itself, in the audience of the people, is un-

[1] Cf. ch. xvii of this essay, especially p. 151.

[2] *Tamid*, v. 1 ff. The description of the service given in this tractate is trustworthy, and of the utmost importance.

certain.[1] Perhaps its private recitation by the priests was followed at a later stage in the ceremonies by its public recitation.[2]

Various rites connected with the offering of the incense were now performed. The priest to whom there had fallen the lot of making that offering entered the sanctuary and completed his task ; and there may then have followed the public recitation of the liturgical service to which reference has just been made.[3] In any case, the priestly blessing was now given, the officiating priest (probably the incensing priest) being assisted by several other priests who previously had been engaged in carrying out certain important duties.[4] It was at this juncture that the sacrifice was actually offered, a ceremony which was followed by the presentation of the high priest's meat-offering. Then preparations were made for the offering of the drink-libation known as *nesek*. When the officiating priest was about to pour this out, two priests with silver trumpets stood near, the cymbals being in position between them.[5] As the priests moved towards these cymbals, a signal was given, and forthwith the drink-oblation was offered. Now the Levites sang the liturgical psalm for the day, in the cantillation of which a noteworthy feature must have been the three pauses always made.[6] These pauses in the psalm were, in all probability, the

[1] There are also other points concerning this service of prayer which remain ambiguous, but a consideration of these would lie outside the present subject.

[2] See art. 'Temple Service' in *E.B.*, vol. iv, col. 4951 ff.

[3] Or perhaps only a part of that service.

[4] On the occasion of great Festivals, the Divine Name, at other times ineffable, was pronounced.

[5] The Chronicler tells us that the cymbals were used in order to mark the rhythm. See 1 Chron. xv. 19.

[6] Why are most of the special psalms for the day enumerated in the LXX, but only one of them (that for the Sabbath) in the M.T.? The omission may have been intentional, or it may be due to carelessness on the part of scribes. See A. Neubauer, 'The Authorship and Titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish Authorities,' in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, vol. ii, p. 4.

musical interludes indicated by the word *selā*; they provided an opportunity for the priests to sound the trumpets, and for the people to prostrate themselves in prayer. It would appear that the priests looked in the direction of the worshippers, while the Levites stood upon the steps which led to the court of the Priests, and faced the Holy Place. The singing of the psalm concluded the sacrificial service, but after the sacrifice had been offered the Levites sang Psalm cv. 1–15, in the morning; Psalm xcvi in the evening.[1] It is, I think, a point of interest to notice that these two liturgical pieces are fused together and so used in the present synagogue-liturgy (their text being taken from Chronicles), in the daily morning service.[2]

The preceding outline will be sufficient to convey some idea of the praise-section in the daily morning service. What differences were observed on the Sabbath? More sacrifices were offered and there were some minor differences in ceremonial, but on the whole the worship proceeded as usual. Psalm xcii, the psalm proper for the Sabbath, was sung in the position that was usual for the daily psalm. When, however, the additional sacrifice peculiar to the Sabbath had been offered and its drink-offering poured out, the Levites sang the Song of Moses which is contained in Deuteronomy[3] in the morning; that which is found in Exodus in the evening.[4]

[1] Many private sacrifices also were offered *after* the completion of the public sacrifice.

[2] See Singer, pp. 17, 18. Cf. also p. 147 of this essay.

[3] Deut. xxxii.

[4] Exod. xv.

NOTE: The Herodian temple saw the advent of the *Magrephah*, the exact characteristics of which have not yet been determined. It was probably not, as some writers suggest, a kind of primitive organ, but rather some machine of percussion the sound of which could be heard at a considerable distance. Perhaps it was similar to a bell. It was used to summon the priests to their duty.

To the Herodian temple we must look, of course, in order to see the most elaborate development in the worship of the post-Exilic Jewish

Our first glimpse at Hebrew worship may be concluded. We have perhaps been enabled to realize in some degree how precious a possession the Israelite found in the solemnities of the post-Exilic Temple. Multitudes of pious Israelites found in the services of that shrine, and in fulfilling the requirements of the Law, a source of real spiritual satisfaction.

Church. Any number of persons might in these days assist in rendering the accompaniment for the psalmody, and there were never *less* than twelve vocalists. Boys of the Levite families were allowed to take their part in singing the psalm for the day. They were educated at a school in Jerusalem where music was taught.

PART II

SOME PSALMS AND THEIR LITURGICAL SETTINGS

THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON

(General view from the south)

CHAPTER VIII

MOWINCKEL AND THE HEBREW NEW YEAR

In the chapters which have preceded, an effort has been made to indicate the extreme importance of the liturgical element as a factor in Biblical study. We have passed in review some liturgical aspects of Jewish worship exhibited in the Psalter and in the work of the Chronicler. Continuing our investigation upon somewhat different lines, we shall now proceed to examine the actual liturgical settings of various psalms, and our examination will necessarily involve a survey of certain sacred seasons of the Hebrew year, seasons to which the psalms in question were more especially allocated.

In the first place it may be noted that from very early times the beginning of the civil and agricultural year in the month *Tisri* was probably marked among the Hebrews by certain religious ceremonies and observances.[1] For many reasons which need not now detain us, the seventh month was regarded as being especially sacred. It was at this time of year, moreover, that the important Feast of Ingathering took place. The first part of our present investigation will be concerned with this portion of the Hebrew year. In the next place we may note that at a late stage in Jewish history there was inaugurated, and thenceforth observed yearly at the time of the winter solstice, the Feast known in Hebrew terminology as

[1] See art. by Friedmann, 'The New Year and its Liturgy,' *J.Q.R.*, Oct. 1888.

Ḥanukkah. This Festival will provide material for the second part of our investigation. We may now enter upon a consideration of the former of these subjects.

Upon the subject of the New Year Festival, known in Jewish nomenclature as *Rosh Ha-shanah,* much has been written by eminent scholars, to one of whom a brief reference may here be made. Some years ago Dr. St. John Thackeray contributed to the pages of the *Journal of Theological Studies* an article entitled 'The Song of Hannah and other Lessons and Psalms for the Jewish New Year's Day.'[1] In this article the Feast of *Rosh Ha-shanah* was examined in a strikingly fresh manner. Dr. Thackeray indicated the way in which different parts of the liturgy reacted one upon another, and he was enabled to arrive at many conclusions which are of paramount importance to students of Hebrew liturgics. Incidentally we may observe that he threw much light upon a conjecture of Dr. E. G. King, who had previously suggested the possible existence of a triennial cycle according to which the whole Psalter was recited liturgically throughout a period of three years.[2]

It will not fall within the plan of the present discussion to consider the characteristics exhibited by the Feast of the Hebrew New Year in the manner usually adopted by scholars in the various commentaries and encyclopædias. Nor shall we proceed upon the lines laid down by Dr. Thackeray. We shall, however, consider somewhat in detail the theories of one to whom reference has already been made in these pages—Sigmund Mowinckel. The view of Mowinckel concerning the solemnities observed by the Hebrews at the turn of their year is contained in the second volume of his *Psalmenstudien,* wherein he analyses the elements of an extremely interesting and important

[1] *J.T.S.*, vol. xvi, p. 177 ff. 1915.

[2] King, 'The Influence of the Triennial Cycle upon the Psalter,' *J.T.S.*, vol. v, pp. 203 ff. 1904.

problem.[1] In the present chapter the main outlines of the argument pursued by Mowinckel will be set forth, and we shall have occasion later to offer some reasonable criticism upon certain points of the theory.

As a result of his investigations, Mowinckel finds evidence of a festival in which Yahweh's Accession to the throne was celebrated at the commencement of every year with considerable solemnity. This Festival—to borrow Mowinckel's own term, *das Thronbesteigungsfest*—included in its cultus several distinct aspects. As King, Creator and Judge, Yahweh was acclaimed and hailed by His faithful worshippers who assembled together to render their homage.[2] Prominence was also given at this Feast to certain agricultural features which, in the minds of all true Israelites, were closely associated with the conception of the divine Kingship. According to Mowinckel, a kind of liturgical drama formed an essential part of the ceremonies.[3] No adequate ground can be discovered for supposing that any actual representation of God ascending the throne was made, but it is a plausible conjecture that symbols of some kind were extensively used. The culminating point of the Festival may have consisted in several liturgical processions

[1] Six volumes of the *Psalmenstudien* have appeared, two of which have been mentioned previously in this essay :—

I. *Awän und die individuellen Klagepsalmen.* 1921.
II. *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie.* 1922.
III. *Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen.* 1923.
IV. *Die Technischen Termini in den Psalmenüberschriften.* 1923.
V. *Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmdichtung.* 1924.
VI. *Die Psalmdichter.* 1924.

[2] The truth of this conclusion is, as we shall see later, strongly reinforced by a survey of the present synagogue-liturgy, wherein the conception of God as King, Creator and Judge, is ineffaceably stamped. See ch. xi.

[3] Mowinckel's study of the cult drama displayed in many different religions is interesting and important. Many instances he notes wherein some dramatic representations were made in the services, e.g. in the Australian animal-dramas, in the ancient religions of Greece, Egypt, and Babylon, as well as in the many examples furnished by the ceremonial worship of the Hebrews. (Vol. ii, pp. 26 ff.)

in which the worshippers solemnly encompassed the Temple, the altar and the holy city itself.[1] It may be that in the processions the faithful conceived of Yahweh as ascending in royal state to His throne, and assuming the kingly power.

The idea of the accession of Yahweh to the throne necessarily implied that He had reduced to subjection the nations which were beyond the pale of Israelitish territory. In some way or other, therefore, ancient myths concerning Yahweh's conquest of the peoples were represented at this Festival. Well-known mythical legends concerning the dragon were also brought before the attention of the congregation for their edification.[2]

So, then, the position presupposed at the *Thronbesteigungsfest* may readily be apprehended. Yahweh has conquered the enemy powers. Now He comes as the merciful and bounteous King. As such He rules and distributes His royal favours. His coming represents a new creation of all things; above all, it represents a resuscitation of the life of the worshippers. Thus good ground is given for the conviction that new fortune, new fertility, even new water and new light, will not fail to be received from the gracious hand of the divine King.[3] The community are about to enter upon a new and better existence.

The Feast of Divine Accession signalized, then, the commencement of a new year; but it signalized also

[1] See ch. x.

[2] See, e.g., Isa. li. 9, 10, and a note *ad loc.* in Box, *The Book of Isaiah*, p. 256, where it is pointed out that the passage is a reference to the ancient creation myth which described the conflict between Yahweh and Chaos (personified as the dragon, and identical with Rahab). Dr. Box continues: 'The Sea—which was regarded as the chaotic element in the primeval myth—personified by Tiamat . . . had been subdued by Yahveh's might, but not entirely overcome. It was constantly challenging the power that held it in check (cf. Job vii. 12: "Am I a sea or a sea-monster that thou settest a watch over me?"' Also Ps. lxxxix. 10 f.).

One may add that it is not easy to read the Psalter without detecting traces of the existence of this mythical element. See, e.g., Ps. civ. 26, and also cf. p. 92.

[3] In the cultus of the Festival these aspects were all distinctly emphasized.

the completion of a year that was past. Viewed in the latter way, it was a Feast of gratitude for the safe ingathering of the harvest.[1] Let us briefly consider this aspect of the Festival. From very early times portions of the land's produce, first-fruits and tithes, had been offered to the deities of Canaan. Mowinckel urges that the practice of presenting gifts to a deity originated from an ancient custom observed by the reapers, who were constrained, when gleaning, to leave the edge of their fields untouched. A few berries, moreover, were usually allowed to remain in the tops of the trees, the object of both these acts of clemency being apparently to provide a resting-place for the various deities. There followed a stage in the history of religion when the remnants of produce were presented as offerings to the *baal* of the field. A further stage of development is seen to have been reached when these offerings were made to Yahweh in thanksgiving for blessings received in the past. A feeling of gratitude would naturally fill the hearts of those who met together in order to celebrate the festivities peculiarly associated with the conception of the Kingship of a bounteous God.

Mowinckel's line of argument is one of real weight. There is, moreover, no valid ground for doubting his further contention that fruits of the field were consumed by the worshippers in a merry social feast. At the local sanctuaries the people assembled in their families to partake of the festive meal, which thus became a very popular institution.[2] It was at

[1] This Feast was later known as *Sukkoth*.

[2] See 1 Sam. i. 4, and Deut. xv. 20, where, according to Mowinckel, allusions to this festive meal are to be found. The contention that a liturgy actually used on these occasions is preserved in Deut. xxvi. 1 ff. is certainly not very convincing. One is tempted to inquire whether we should be justified in assuming that liturgical prayer had already developed at such an early stage in the history of Israel. See ch. v. of the present essay, where the subject of liturgical prayer has been considered.

Mowinckel's suggestion that Psalm cxvi contains a reference to the drink-offering made at this festive meal seems to be unsatisfactory. See p. 124 of this essay.

Jerusalem, however, that the most elaborate ritual was carried out. In that city the coronation festivities naturally attracted large numbers of devotees who, in the presence of Yahweh, ate the new fruit, drank the new wine and decked themselves with palms, thus cutting off, as it were, the old year and its associations.

One may notice in passing a conjecture of Mowinckel concerning the nature of this sacramental meal. The argument is carried so far as to postulate that the elements consumed were conceived of as containing in themselves a divine energy.[1] On behalf of this conclusion evidence is adduced from a passage in the First Book of Samuel (ix. 13), where Yahweh's worshippers are represented as refraining from participation in a religious meal until the sacrifice had been blessed. The priest-seer was required to infuse a holy power into the meat by means of a blessing before it could be received as food.

We have now to notice some passages in which, according to Mowinckel, reference is made to other aspects of the Festival. An examination of such references contained in the Psalter will conveniently be deferred to a later chapter; here it will suffice to refer to certain passages from the sacred historians, passages which might reasonably be said to have a direct bearing upon the subject of our present inquiries. The narrative from the Book of Samuel (2 Sam. vi), which records the manner in which David brought the ark to Sion, and the parallel passage from Chronicles (1 Chron. xv), are thought by Mowinckel to describe the royal procession which, as we have seen, is to be accounted an integral part in the ceremonies of the Accession-Festival. I would point out that a reference to the blowing of the trumpet, found

[1] Such a conception is, of course, one of great antiquity; see, e.g., W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 240. See also art. 'Blessing,' in *H.D.C.G.*, wherein it is pointed out that the most ancient kind of Benediction among the Hebrews was that recited before a meal.

in verse 15 of the former passage, incidentally tells strongly in favour of Mowinckel's hypothesis, because the sounding of a ram's horn has always been a distinctive feature in the ceremony of the New Year solemnities among the Hebrews.[1] The idea of a distribution of gifts is a further conception associated with the New Year cultus. It is therefore interesting to observe that in the passage to which we have just alluded one reads of a distribution made to all the people present at Jerusalem. It may be noted, however, that it was not customary for *all* the people to go up to Jerusalem—a point which must not be overlooked.

The bringing of the ark to its resting-place within the sanctuary of the Temple, newly built by Solomon, is vividly pictured by the author of Kings (1 Kings viii). It is also described in a parallel passage by the Chronicler (2 Chron. v). Again, Mowinckel finds evidence of the royal procession of Yahweh, and again we should note that the whole congregation of Israel is present (see verses 14, 55 and 65 of the former narrative). Finally, it is urged that in Nehemiah viii a further allusion to the Accession-Feast is to be found. No reference, indeed, is contained therein to any liturgical procession, but a distribution of gifts is once more a noteworthy feature in the proceedings (see verse 10). These three occasions, then, are connected by Mowinckel, who finds not only in the second and third, but also in the first, a Feast celebrated at the time of the New Year—in fact, the Accession-Festival itself. It may be so. Yet I am at a loss to see any logical reason for the supposition that the ark must have been brought to Sion at the same time of year as that in which it was bestowed in the Temple.

[1] The first day of *Tisri* is known technically as *the day of Shofar-blowing*.

CHAPTER IX

SOME PSALMS FOR THE DIVINE ACCESSION FESTIVAL

In this chapter we shall consider some of the psalms assigned by Mowinckel for use at the Feast of Yahweh's Accession. The psalms thus given a liturgical setting are especially interesting. First of all there are the theocratic psalms, a group which immediately suggests itself as eminently fitted for this purpose. Here, as one would expect, the conception of Yahweh as King figures prominently. *Yahweh has become King:* this, according to Mowinckel, is the cardinal theme of the psalmist. Yahweh is, moreover, acclaimed as a King who has ascended the throne (cf. Psalms xcv. 3 and xcviii. 6). For the new King a new song is required, consequently there follows the command to sing a New Song unto the Lord (Psalms xcvi. 1 and xcviii. 1). Two ideas which dominated the mind of the psalmist should be carefully noted, namely, the ideas of Creation and Judgement. Ideas they are which constantly were brought before the mind of the worshippers at the Feast of *Rosh Ha-shanah*, and it is, therefore, not difficult to see that their presence in the theocratic psalms lends considerable weight to the argument of Mowinckel when he urges that these psalms were peculiarly associated with the Feast of Yahweh's Accession.

Further confirmatory evidence is found when we turn to Psalm xlvii. This psalm is one of the liturgical hymns for *Rosh Ha-shanah*.[1] But it is a theocratic psalm, separated

[1] Psalm xlvii is still said at the New Year before the sounding of the horn in the synagogue. This feature gives additional point to Mowinckel's argument.

THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON

(*View showing route of Babylonian New Year Procession*)

from the other members of the group for some reason or other, probably liturgical.[1] It contains a picture of the King's procession ascending in triumph, and thus may be used as a powerful argument in favour of Mowinckel's theory.

Can we agree with Mowinckel, that Psalm cxlix is to be assigned to the Feast of Accession? Quite truly, it is a 'New Song' and exhibits the conception of God as Creator, Judge and Saviour. I should, however, be reluctant to give an early date for this psalm. Later, some reasons will be given for the view that it is to be very closely associated with the Maccabæan age.[2] We are not bound to conclude that its dependence upon the theocratic psalms indicates that it was used liturgically at the Feast of Accession.

Psalm xxxiii, Mowinckel urges, is a 'New Song' and contains allusion to Creation, to God's judgement, and to the *Saving* of Israel by a judgement of the nations. I think that we ought to notice, however, that it is not a 'New Song' in the sense that the theocratic psalms are new songs, nor can one find therein any reference to the Kingship of God. Psalm xxix, on the other hand, is clearly an accession-hymn, used, as is well known, liturgically at *Sukkoth*, and eminently fitted for use at the *Thronbesteigungsfest*.

Mowinckel's conjecture that Psalm xxxiv was composed for the ceremony of illuminating the Temple at *Sukkoth* may be reasonable, but it appears to lack convincing evidence. One allusion only to the concept of Light—and that a most indirect allusion—can be traced in the words of the Psalmist.[3]

It has already been observed in an earlier chapter that an important aspect of the Feast of Accession is to be found

[1] The distance of this psalm from the rest of the group in our present Psalter (fifty psalms away) is no small piece of evidence in favour of the existence of a triennial cycle for the recitation of the psalms.

[2] See ch. xiv, *The Hallelujah Psalms*.

[3] In verse 5.

in its character as an agricultural festival. In some respects the *Thronbesteigungsfest* might have been regarded as pre-eminently a feast of thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth. Psalms lxv, lxvii, lxxxv and cxxvi ought to be read in the light of this conclusion. They are hymns of gratitude for the blessings of harvest. Such considerations as these remind one that at the Ascent to the Throne the *future* was revealed to those who participated in the dramatic representations. The expectation of the coming One was a dominant idea, and the future was represented in the light of past victory. God had ascended the throne: well might the voices of the liturgical prophets prophesy a glorious future for Israel. Such festival-songs of joyous expectation, according to Mowinckel, are Psalms lxxxi, lxxxv and cxxxii.[1] The argument that Psalms lxxxiv and cxiv are accession-hymns is not very convincing. In the latter, for instance, verse 2 alone contains any possible allusion to Kingship or dominion.

A few observations may now be made upon a type of accession-psalm different from those which we have just considered. It will be remembered that in the cultus of the Accession-Festival the conception of *Judgement* assumed no mean position. In a subsequent chapter we shall see that this conception is very prominent in the synagogue-liturgy for *Rosh Ha-shanah*. It also appears in the ancient Babylonian celebrations of the New Year, when Marduk, king of the gods, was accustomed to sit in state and pass judgement upon his subjects.[2] At that time Marduk also determined the future fate, for good or for evil, that was impending over those whom he ruled. Bearing this in mind, we may turn to the Psalter. Mowinckel shows that Psalms l and lxxxii emphasize this idea of Judgement. Yahweh judges His subjects, and not only His immediate

[1] Concerning Psalm cxxxii see also ch. x, *passim*.
[2] See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 59 and 681.

subjects, but also the whole world. Accession-psalms these are in a somewhat narrower sense than, for instance, the theocratic psalms. They contain an idea of Judgement which is equivalent to the conviction of the enemy-powers. The judgement of Yahweh is universal, but the judgement of the nations is different from that of Israel. Israel when judged is but purified, cleansed, separated from evil.[1]

The various parts of Mowinckel's theory hang together in an extraordinarily complete manner. When subjected to the light of criticism, moreover, they usually stand the test. Thus in the present instance, Babylonian mythology tends, as we have seen, to confirm his conclusions, and here I would merely add that additional confirmation can be found in the existence of the Jewish belief to-day that God judges all mankind at the New Year Festival, while to Him alone belongs the divine power of determining at that season one's future fate for good or evil.

Before concluding this chapter we may note another psalm in which a procession is presupposed. Psalm xlviii is instanced by Mowinckel as forming part of the liturgy for the Accession-Festival. It contains, according to a conjecture already noticed, an allusion to the divine *secrets* of Yahweh.[2] These secrets or mysteries circle round the sovereignty of God.[3] What were they? It must be observed that the revival of life, regarded as taking place during the Festival, was considered to be a kind of participation in a new creation, and the representation of creation in the service formed some kind of basis for a new and better existence of the community. From the service itself, in fact, there arises a new life—the future; and when the past is represented in a dramatic manner as though it

[1] Here the conception of Yahweh as Saviour reappears.

[2] See p. 49 of this essay.

[3] Notice that the psalm is not without its reference to the King and His judgements.

were still happening, an atmosphere for the future is created. We may form some idea, then, of what is meant by the *secrets* of Yahweh. The worshippers can see what is going to happen; they may expect a glorious repetition of that which is represented in the drama of the service. Well indeed may the psalmist cry, *Thus have we seen in the city the Lord of Hosts*, for Yahweh has deigned to reveal to the community something of the mysteries of Himself. Further, it may be noted that the myths concerning the dragon which were prevalent in those days, the myths also concerning the struggles between the nations, are to be counted among the *secrets* to which the psalmist alludes.[1]

Read the psalm as a whole. It would appear that the procession passes out of the Temple and around the holy city.[2] By means of this circuit, power is transferred to the walls of Sion. Yahweh comes to His city and sets up His residence. Perhaps some symbol is carried by the worshippers who confidently conclude from the ceremony of this procession that the city of God is invincible. Assuredly will the fame of Yahweh be carried to the ends of the earth, and the prayers of the congregation will find acceptance.

There remain a few more psalms assigned by Mowinckel to the Feast of Accession. It will, however, be convenient to examine them in connexion with the liturgical procession as taking place in the Temple itself.

[1] Cf. p. 84.

[2] Cf. Neh. xii. 27, where, according to Mowinckel, a similar procession is described. I venture to ask, however, whether one is justified in reading into Psalm xlviii all that Mowinckel suggests. Could it not well be regarded purely as a hymn appropriate to the visits of pilgrims, wherein the joy of the holy city is declared for the benefit of the peoples. Who is to *walk about Sion, and go round about her*? Not her own people only, but surely those also who come from afar. Those from other lands are to tell their children the beauties of her splendid bulwarks. Notice also that the psalm contains no such reference to the divine King as to suggest that it forms a part of the liturgy for the Accession-Festival.

CHAPTER X

THE LITURGICAL PROCESSION OF THE ACCESSION FEAST

It has already been observed that Mowinckel's theory presupposes the yearly observance of a liturgical procession in which Yahweh's ascent to the throne was celebrated in a dramatic manner. This procession, being an integral element in the ceremonies of the Feast, has a special interest for us, and its significance from a liturgical and ceremonial point of view must be carefully studied. It will be convenient to defer any comment upon this subject until Mowinckel's main conclusions thereon have been briefly passed in review. First of all, then, there arises the question whether this solemn procession took place at the beginning of the Festival or at its conclusion. The argument from analogy is, of course, somewhat precarious, but it is interesting to notice that in the Egyptian religious ceremonies connected with the worship of Osiris, a procession of the royal god *terminated* the festivities. We read, moreover, in the tractate *Sukkah* of a great procession passing round the altar in the Jerusalem-temple on the seventh day of *Sukkoth*.[1] It is, on the other hand, by no means improbable that a daily procession formed an essential feature in the ceremonies of that Festival. Is the royal procession to be identified with that of which the Mishnah treats? May we assume that the procession of Yahweh as King commenced outside the Temple, entered the gates, and finally encompassed the altar? Before answering these questions let us turn to the Psalter. Mowinckel thinks that Psalm

[1] *Sukkah* iv. 5. *Sukkah* is a tractate of the Mishnah dealing with the ceremonies connected with the Feast of Tabernacles.

cxviii formed part of the liturgy used at this procession of the divine King. Certainly it was used, among other occasions, at *Sukkoth*. The words of the Psalmist imply that the procession did actually enter the Temple and eventually pass round the altar. On the other hand, they contain no allusion to God as King.

It must be conceded that Psalms xxiv and cxxxii, hymns of singular beauty, might be psalms of the royal procession. How do they accord with the final member of the Hallel group? Mowinckel is constrained to admit that the mode of procedure outside the Temple alluded to in Psalms xxiv and cxxxii is dissimilar from that in Psalm cxviii. Very dissimilar indeed it is: thus in the one case we read, *I will enter*; in the other we read that the King of Glory enters. Presumably, then, we are led to conclude that the royal procession and that to which reference is made in *Sukkah* are not to be identified as one and the same. But the subject may not be dismissed in too summary a manner. A further hypothesis of Mowinckel challenges attention when he advances the possibility that Psalms xxiv, cxxxii and cxviii, written by different authors at different periods of time, reflect the ceremonies of the Feast as they existed in three successive stages of its development. We cannot doubt, he says, that Psalms xxiv and cxxxii are pre-Exilic.[1] Psalm cxviii, on the other hand, he admits to be of post-Exilic origin. Perhaps, then, Psalm cxxxii is a liturgy for the procession as it took place in pre-Exilic days, Psalm cxviii its liturgy after the Exile when Ark and Kingship had disappeared. It is, of course, a possibility that Psalms xxiv and cxxxii were both used at one time for the one procession; if so, the former was probably recited after the latter. Mowinckel observes that the most plausible conclusion is that the royal procession was made upon the last day of the Festival, a procession which at one period

[1] But see later, p. 95.

in its history did not pass round the altar, although in later days this ceremony was made a notable addition thereto. The circuit of the altar may possibly be regarded as an independent act which, after the loss of the Ark, became the most striking and noteworthy feature in the solemnities.

May we accept these conclusions in their entirety? A few comments will, I think, suggest themselves. In the first place, we must ask whether any adequate ground can be found for regarding Psalms xxiv and cxxxii as pre-Exilic hymns. There is among scholars a large consensus of opinion that the so-called Psalms of Ascents are to be assigned to the post-Exilic period. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that they were written during the Persian *régime*.[1] Nor can we be insensible to the inference conveyed by a perusal of Psalm xxiv that the existence of a Church sentiment, the actual existence in fact of the Jewish Church itself, is presupposed therein. There is no need to multiply evidence on behalf of a post-Exilic date for these Psalms. It is, however, necessary to notice that although we abandon the hypothesis of a pre-Exilic date, Mowinckel's theory is not necessarily thereby impaired. May I quote some words from a review upon volume ii of the *Psalmenstudien* which have a direct bearing upon this point. Canon Box says: 'Mowinckel, like Peters, is inclined to assign to an early date the composition of certain Psalms which are usually supposed to be of late origin. For instance, Psalm cxxxii presupposes a procession with the ark. As no ark was in existence after the Exile it follows that the Psalm must be pre-Exilic. But the "ark" may well be a mere reminiscence of something which had long passed away. It is curious how such things persist. Thus the Mishnah tractate Yoma, which was certainly not composed till after A.D. 70, carefully states the place where the ark stood in the Holy of Holies, and directs the censer to be placed

[1] Cf. ch. v, *Liturgical Prayer at the Time of the Chronicler*.

between its poles, though such a proceeding had been impossible for six hundred years before the destruction of the Herodian Temple!'[1] We may assume that Psalms xxiv and cxxxii may plausibly be regarded as hymns for the royal procession. But surely a line of demarcation must be drawn between these psalms and cxviii. The last Psalm of the Hallel is undoubtedly a processional hymn, but it is not, I venture to think, a processional hymn of the divine King.[2] In a subsequent portion of this essay I hope to adduce some cogent reasons for concluding that the Hallel is to be peculiarly associated with the Maccabæan Feast of Rededication.[3] A careful examination of Psalm cxviii suggests that it belongs to a later stage of thought than that presupposed in Psalms xxiv and cxxxii. The outlook of the Hallel Psalmist is different from that of his predecessors. But these are small points; they do not seriously affect the value which, on the whole, we must undoubtedly attach to Mowinckel's theory.

[1] Review on vol. ii of Mowinckel's *Psalmenstudien* and other literature. *C.Q.R.*, 1925.

[2] See p. 116 of this essay.

[3] Ch. xiii.

CHAPTER XI

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

It has been found impossible to examine in detail here the whole of Mowinckel's argument for his theory concerning the *Thronbesteigungsfest*. The most salient features of that theory have, however, been passed in review in these pages, and on the strength of this examination we may proceed to form a conclusion regarding the validity of the main contention. Before actually considering any of the points that call for special comment, we may notice in passing that the idea of a Feast of Divine Accession as set forth in the second volume of the *Psalmenstudien* is not in its entirety to be ascribed to Mowinckel. He was anticipated in some of his ideas by Staerk, and in others by Gunkel.[1] But the point is not of material importance, and we may forthwith inquire what independent evidence may be said to exist in favour of the theory sketched in the three preceding chapters.

If Mowinckel is correct in his conclusions concerning a Feast of Divine Accession, we may reasonably expect to find some of the conceptions which he associates with such a Festival reflected in the synagogue-liturgies for *Rosh Ha-shanah*, *Yom Kippur* and *Sukkoth*. What is actually found here in the way of confirmatory evidence? Our inquiries may be preceded by a brief survey of the New Year Festival.

The Feast of *Rosh Ha-shanah* is pre-eminently the 'Feast of Trumpets,' an essential feature of the celebrations being

[1] See, e.g., Staerk, *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, vol. i, pp. 9–20, and Gunkel, art. 'Psalmen,' in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. iv, p. 1939.

the solemn blowing of the shofar in accordance with ancient custom.[1] What significance is to be attached to this sounding of the ram's horn? By the Jews of to-day the ceremony is regarded as a call to repentance in view of the approaching Day of Atonement. It is impossible not to be struck by the idea of Judgement which, in various ways, figures so prominently during the first ten days of *Tisri*—'days of penitence,' as they are aptly called. Quite common is the belief that God judges His creation at the New Year; there is, moreover, a well-known tradition that the books of judgement are opened upon the first day of *Tisri* and closed upon the Day of Atonement.[2] The New Year Festival is sometimes actually designated as 'the day of judgement.' It will be remembered that the ritual of shofar-blowing and the conception of Judgement both appear as noteworthy features in the Feast of Yahweh's Accession.

Reference has so far been made to one reason for the practice of sounding the ram's horn. Other reasons exist, and one of these must be especially noted. The ceremony is sometimes regarded as providing a *memorial*, a reminder of certain important events. This explanation is one which indicates an earlier stage of thought than that to which allusion has already been made. Very prominent, then, let it be observed, is the conception of *Remembrance* at *Rosh Ha-shanah*, manifested throughout the liturgy for that Festival. The shofar is to remind God of Israel, of His past mercies to that people, and of His bounteous promises to them for the future.[3] Nor is this all. For the present

[1] An interesting chapter upon the New Year Festival is contained in Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home* (Jewish Publication Society of America). See also Kingsbury, 'The New Year of the Synagogue, and its Lessons for the Church,' *Church and Synagogue*, vol. i., 1896.

[2] *R.W.S.* (ed. 1911), p. 417.

[3] Cf. Mowinckel's conclusions with regard to the Accession-Feast as a harvest thanksgiving.

purpose we must lay especial stress upon three more remembrances made at the New Year: *The Creation, The Exodus,* and *God's Salvation* are among the several events specially remembered in the liturgy during the days of penitence.[1] The striking parallelism existing between these conceptions and those set forth in Mowinckel's argument needs no comment.

Continuing our examination we cannot fail to notice that the idea of divine Kingship is stamped upon almost every liturgical prayer for this Festival. A signal instance of this is to be found in the special conclusion which is appended to the *Amidah* prayer during the penitential days.[2] Here is a beautiful passage consisting of forty-four prayers, each of which begins with the address *Our Father, Our King.* This point, of course, has a very special interest in the present investigation.

It is unnecessary to multiply evidence in order to prove that which is obviously certain; I must point out, however, in conclusion, that the three ideas of *Shofar-blowing, Remembrances* and *Kingdoms* are strikingly emphasized by the special Benedictions which, at certain services during the Festival, are inserted into the *Amidah* prayer. These special Benedictions are known in Jewish terminology respectively as *Shofaroth, Zikronoth,* and *Malkiyyoth.*[3] Each of them, undoubtedly, furnishes a powerful argument in favour of Mowinckel's contentions.

[1] The conception of God as Saviour is prominent at the New Year Festival. Notice its connection with the thought of the Exodus: Israel was *saved* in crossing the Red Sea.

[2] Except on a Sabbath. It is also interesting to notice in passing that a rule was at one time formulated according to which every Benediction had to contain some reference to the Kingship of God.

[3] See Dr. Box's review, referred to above, p. 95, and Appendix III in this essay for the text of *Malkiyyoth.*

NOTE: The use of the theocratic psalms at New Year in the synagogue to-day also tends to strengthen Mowinckel's position. It is interesting, moreover, to note that Psalm xxiv is read upon the second day of the Festival; Psalm cxxxii is said when the scroll is taken out of the ark.

The liturgy for *Yom Kippur*, to which we may now pass, emphasizes, as might be expected, the idea of Judgement. It also preserves the conceptions of divine Kingship, Creation, the Exodus, Salvation and Remembrance. One further point is to be noticed. We cannot fail to be reminded of Mowinckel's argument concerning the representation of a mythical cult when we read a prayer which is said in memory of the High Priest's service as performed on the Day of Atonement.[1] This prayer contains allusion to the Leviathan and Behemoth, and irresistibly suggests the existence of an ancient mythological tradition incorporated into the liturgy.[2]

Finally, the liturgical aspect of *Sukkoth* must be considered. Conspicuous again are the references to divine Kingship, Creation, the Exodus, Salvation and Remembrance. It may be suggested that a certain significance is also to be attached to an allusion to the Leviathan which is contained in the liturgy for Tabernacles as well as in that for the Day of Atonement noted above. The conception of Leviathan is clearly associated with the Feast of *Sukkoth*. Rabbi Levi of the third century declared that he who carried out the duty of Tabernacles in the world should be protected from the sun of the coming day. How was he to be protected? God would cause him to dwell in the Tabernacle of the Leviathan in the future.[3] There exist many other references to the Leviathan providing *shelter* for the faithful in the Messianic age.[4] It is a reasonable conjecture that this idea arose in connexion with the thought of the shelter provided by booths erected by the faithful at this Festival. Notice,

[1] See Davis, 'Service of the Synagogue,' *The Day of Atonement*, vol. ii, p. 159.

[2] Cf. p. 84.

[3] The booth as constructed to-day must be covered in such a way as to allow some light, but not too much, to enter. There is here a possible connexion with the *motif* of light.

[4] At the Feast of *Sukkoth* the idea of Resurrection became prominent.

then, the following prayer which is said at the conclusion of a ceremonial meal on the first evening of *Sukkoth*: *May it please Thee, O Lord my God, and God of my fathers, that in like manner as I have this time obeyed Thy command and have been sitting in the booth, so in the coming year I may be counted worthy to sit in the booth of Leviathan.*[1] Enough has been observed to show that quite possibly we have here a remarkable confirmation of part of Mowinckel's theory. It would be quite justifiable to impute such conceptions of ancient mythology to the religious cultus of the eighth century B.C.

Before this brief survey of these liturgical aspects of *Sukkoth* is concluded, it may be noted that the use of the theocratic psalms and the psalms of Ascent at this Festival to-day lends additional confirmation to the theory we have attempted to examine. Both groups of psalms were, according to Mowinckel, used at the Feast of Accession. Finally, two ceremonial traits of *Sukkoth* have a bearing upon our subject and call for special comment. I refer in the first place to the decoration of the modern synagogue, a decoration with fruits and produce which invests the Festival with the character of a harvest thanksgiving. We are reminded of Mowinckel's exposition of the Feast of Ingathering, which he insists upon regarding as an integral part of the *Thronbesteigungsfest*. Secondly, it is to be remembered that a prominent feature of the celebrations is to be seen in the palm-processions which still take place in the synagogue and retain for the Jews a deep significance. Pathetic survivals they are of the liturgical processions that formerly encompassed the altar of the Jerusalem-Temple and delighted the hearts of all faithful worshippers. Once again we are reminded of the Accession-Festival and the royal progress of the divine King. To conclude. No discrepancies can be traced when the con-

[1] *R.W.S.* (ed. 1911), p. 398.

ceptions displayed in these three liturgies are compared with those which, according to Mowinckel, figured in the Festival of Accession. On the contrary, many striking parallelisms exist, and these tend strongly to corroborate the conclusions of that scholar. May we not even venture to say that an ancient *Thronbesteigungsfest* has, to some extent, determined the form of the present synagogue-liturgy?

One vulnerable point in the theory of Mowinckel lies perhaps in his failure to prove that the Festival of the Ascent to the Throne was celebrated regularly year by year. Most true it is that ceremonies well fitted for such a Festival are to be found in the Biblical descriptions of David bringing the Ark in procession to Sion, and those of his son subsequently bestowing it in the Temple.[1] But is one thereby justified in concluding that such ritual acts were in some form or other practised throughout many generations?[2] Mowinckel realizes the difficulty. He advances an argument of doubtful validity, however, when he urges it to be highly improbable (*in höchsten Grade unwahrscheinlich*) that the Exilic author of Kings and the post-Exilic author of Chronicles had before them any original sources recording the events of an earlier age. We are asked to believe that these historians in describing events of a bygone age depicted the customs and practices of their own time, making free use, presumably, of their imagination. Earlier in this essay it has been pointed out that to some extent contemporary events did colour the writings of the Chronicler. But one can scarcely go so far as to suppose that no record whatever would have been preserved concerning, let us say, such an historic occasion as the dedication of Solomon's Temple. Mowinckel fails to carry conviction

[1] 2 Sam. vi and 1 Chron. xv. Also 1 Kings viii and 2 Chron. v–vii.

[2] The internal evidence of the Psalter gives no indication that the Festival was celebrated yearly.

when he premises that the author of Kings felt justified in describing the procession of the Ark from Sion to the new Temple simply because he saw similar ceremonies performed in his own day.

The real question at issue is this: Is it within the range of probability that records dealing with extremely important events in the history of Israel would be carefully written down, treasured and preserved, or not? One might reasonably ask how it is possible upon any other assumption to account for the mass of details and the many names that figure so prominently in the historical books. Are the records of which mention is made in the Books of Kings, for instance, purely fictitious? Finally, one is tempted to apply some of the conclusions reached by Hoschander in a recent review of literature to test the validity of Mowinckel's thesis on this subject.[1] Hoschander urges that a library must have been in existence in the Temple. The priests were often engaged in the duty of teaching the people; they would necessarily have possessed documents and records. During the *régime* of godless kings, such writings would doubtless have been exposed to danger, yet it is scarcely conceivable that they would not have been hidden securely by priests who were faithful. Mowinckel lays himself open to serious criticism when he asks us to believe that no records lay before the authors of Kings and Chronicles.

This chapter may conclude with one more remark concerning the Kingship of God. In laying stress upon this conception, Mowinckel cannot be said to introduce an anachronism into the terminology of religious beliefs. Gods have often been conceived of as kings, kings as gods.[2]

[1] Hoschander, 'Survey of Recent Biblical Literature,' *J.Q.R.*, April 1926.

[2] Notice especially a small work by the Rev. C. Lattey entitled *Texts Illustrating Ancient Ruler-Worship*. This work is based upon E. Kornemann's article 'Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte,' in the *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1901). A pamphlet upon this subject was

The conception of divine Kingship has been emphasized and re-emphasized throughout the ages, as indeed the annals of the world's history testify. It would lead us too far afield were we to expatiate upon this truth, exemplified so incontrovertibly in the records of Persia, Egypt, China and Japan, to mention only a few from many signal instances.[1] Suffice it now to say that history repeats itself, and the acclamations of the theocratic psalmists are, in a sense, to-day upon the lips of many who may claim a fuller revelation than that which has been accorded to Judaism. Recently there has been promulgated by the Vatican a special Festival, celebrated for the first time last year throughout the greater part of the Western Church. My reference is to the Feast of the Kingship of Christ, instituted for the purpose of stimulating the attention of the indifferent and the enthusiasm of the zealous in the Latin communion.[2] But no new thought is that of Christ as a King. The pages of the New Testament are replete with the conception of this divine Kingship. And in the words of the great Apostle we may say :

Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων, ἀφθάρτῳ ἀοράτῳ, μόνῳ Θεῷ, τιμὴ καὶ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

---

also written by the former scholar under the title *Ancient King-Worship* (Catholic Truth Society). See also three chapters upon the Kingdom of God in Schechter's *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*; and lastly, a book by M. Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*.

[1] In the history of some ancient dynasties of Irania, the conception of divine Kingship is, as a matter of fact, absent. In certain periods of the history of Persia it does, however, very clearly appear. With regard to Egypt we may note that Osiris was regarded as a god reigning upon earth.

[2] See an encyclical letter of Pius XI published by Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1926.

NOTE : The remaining chapters of this part of our essay will be concerned primarily with the liturgical and ceremonial setting of the Feast of *Ḥanukkah*. They are intended to be read in the light of the inquiries that have preceded, and this remark applies especially to the case of ch. xiii, in which an effort is made to offer a more satisfactory explanation of the setting of Psalm cxviii than that suggested by Mowinckel.

CHAPTER XII

SOME LITURGICAL AND CEREMONIAL ASPECTS OF 'ḤANUKKAH'

It was at the autumn Feast of Ingathering or *Asiph* that the idea of Dedication was originally commemorated among the Hebrews. At a late date in the History of Israel, however, when the agricultural associations connected with the harvest Feast had long since disappeared except in an indirect way, there was instituted, by Judas Maccabæus, a Festival of Re-dedication which displayed in a remarkable manner many of the traits exhibited in the cultus of *Sukkoth*. With the present chapter we enter upon the portion of our essay wherein that Festival of Re-dedication will be examined from a liturgical and from a ceremonial point of view.

What were the points of similarity existing between *Sukkoth* and *Ḥanukkah*? Both were feasts of joy. At both, the concept of Light figured prominently. Perhaps the most striking ceremony at *Sukkoth* was the illumination of the women's court at night in the Temple and the torch-light-procession. At both Festivals, however, extensive illuminations were made. A further similarity between the respective ceremonies of the Festivals is to be found in the processions of palm-branches and tree-branches which were solemnly made on each of these occasions. *Sukkoth* and *Ḥanukkah* at one time lasted eight days, and at both the Hallel was sung. To sum up, *Ḥanukkah* was made to be a repetition of *Sukkoth*. Most fittingly has it been called 'the Tabernacle Feast of Winter,' and 'the Feast of Tabernacles of the month Kisleu.' [1]

[1] See 2 Macc. x. 6.

The illumination of the Temple and that also of all houses at *Ḥanukkah* was an expression of joy at the thought of the restoration of liturgical worship.[1] As time went on, *Ḥanukkah* came to be regarded especially as the children's Feast, probably on account of the youthfulness of Judas Maccabæus when he achieved his great triumph. Public fasting and mourning were forbidden during the festivities, presents were often exchanged, and the poor were especially remembered.

The circumstances accompanying the re-dedication of the sanctuary desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes are too well known to need repetition. *Ḥanukkah,* instituted on the very anniversary of the great calamity at Jerusalem, was pre-eminently 'a feast of joy and light.'[2] Some essential features in the symbolism of the Festival were borrowed from the pagan ritual of an earlier age. Judas, in fact, re-dedicated the pagan festivities of the winter solstice, adopting part of the ceremonies connected with the worship of the sun-god—ceremonies which were celebrated at the time of year when the days began to lengthen. The very date selected for *Ḥanukkah* was at one time observed at Tyre, and afterwards at Rome, as the birthday of the Sun. *Kisleu* was not the true dedication-month among the Hebrews.[3]

We may now pass on to consider the liturgical aspect of *Ḥanukkah.* The rise and development of the custom of reading liturgically Pentateuchal passages need not be traced here. It will suffice merely to notice some of the conclusions that have been reached by Dr. Büchler in the first of his classic articles upon the subject of the triennial

[1] At a later time the Shammaites usually diminished the number of lights displayed day by day. The Hillelites, on the contrary, gradually increased the number.

[2] In the Talmud reference is made to *Ḥanukkah* as 'the Feast of Illumination.' To Josephus it was known as 'the Festival of Lights' (Antiq., XII. vii., 7).

[3] King, *The Asaph Psalms,* p. 12.

cycle.[1] Dr. Büchler shows that the practice of public reading from the Law had its origin in the apportioning of lessons for the festivals and the four Sabbaths known as the extra-ordinary Sabbaths; he also argues that it was adopted in the first place on behalf of the interests of orthodoxy. A cycle of reading was eventually arranged which extended over three years. We are concerned here merely with the lessons for *Ḥanukkah*. It is probable that at one time a *Ḥanukkah* reading was appointed for a Sabbath only, or perhaps for the eighth day of the Festival also.[2] In any case this was a Feast on which the ordinary cycle of Torah lessons was interrupted. Dr. Büchler's words concerning the apportioning of the first Pentateuchal lessons for this Festival may be quoted. 'Since,' he writes, 'Chanucca is the Feast of Lights, a part of the Torah had to be sought which treated of the import of the same. This was found in Numbers viii. 1, where the lights and the kindling of them is described (Megilla iii. 6, Sopherim xx. 10). In vii. 84, however, we find the expression זאת חנכת הבית,[3] which formed a suitable beginning, not only on account of the occurrence of the words חנכה, but because of its application to the Festival and its significance. Therefore did the Mishna select פרשת נשיאים for the Chanucca reading.'[4] It was not until a considerably later stage in the history of the development of the Festival that daily readings were apportioned, and then the lesson was commenced at Numbers vii. 1, in order that a different passage might be read each day. Two other Torah lessons were used liturgically at this Festival—Genesis xlvi. 28 and

[1] First article on 'The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle,' *J.Q.R.* v. 420–468. 1893.

[2] There is a tradition that the eighth day of the Feast was observed because the oil, which had been hidden during the persecution but used at the Re-dedication of the Temple, lasted eight days.

[3] *zō'th ḥanukkath*; the word *ha-baîth* is evidently a scribal error.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 455.

Leviticus xxiv. A reference to these lections from the Pentateuch has been made here merely for the sake of completeness: a minute examination of the passages in question would be apart from our present purpose. It should be noticed that the primitive lessons for the feasts were not chosen in a haphazard way, but rather with the definite aim of introducing a *motif* of the Feast, whatever it might happen to be. Thus the lection from Numbers viii was selected, because it contained a reference to the kindling of lights, the other passage in the same book because it contained a reference to Dedication.

At this stage of our inquiry the rise and development of the practice of reading liturgically from the prophets may be briefly traced. The New Testament bears witness to the existence of such a custom in the first half of the first century. But the origin of reading the *Haphtaroth*, as such lections were called, must be assigned to an earlier time. Dr. Büchler advances an argument of deep interest in dealing with this subject. It was, he argues, due to controversy between the Pharisees and Samaritans on the one hand, and the Sadducees on the other, that the practice of reading from the prophetical writings arose. The Samaritans did not accept those writings, but the Pharisees noticed that many passages contained therein strengthened their own interpretation of the Pentateuch.[1] Moreover, the prophets had not been slow to enunciate important laws. A common theme connected the *Haphtaroth* with the Torah passages; the leading purpose of the former was ostensibly to amplify and explain the teaching of the latter. Usually the text for the discourse in the synagogue was selected from the concluding words of the prophetical lection.[2] Is it to be

[1] Second article on 'The Triennial Reading of the Law and the Prophets,' *J.Q.R.*, vol. vi. (1894), pp. 5, 6.

[2] *Haphtarah* means dismissal, and the word may have been chosen to designate the prophetical lesson because the reading of that lesson

understood that any passage might be chosen as a *Haphtarah* at the caprice of the reader, provided that it was not wholly unrelated to the ideas contained in the Pentateuch passage? The existence of two or more *Haphtaroth* for one feast might be thought to point to this conclusion, but the existence of the triennial cycle suggests a more satisfactory explanation, viz. that the different lessons were intended for use at the three different festivals of the cycle.

Two lessons, in the first instance, were appointed for use at *Ḥanukkah* when the custom of reading from the prophetical writings was adopted; thus each of the two Sabbaths included in the Festival possessed its own lesson.[1] Upon the subject of the former of these lessons, Zechariah iv. 2 ff., a few observations may be made at this point, although there will be occasion to recur to it in a subsequent chapter where certain psalms used at this Feast are examined. Notice, then, that a prominent feature of this *Haphtarah* is, once again, the concept of Light. In a trance the prophet sees the Temple-Candlestick or Golden Lamp. From a golden bowl upon the top of the candlestick, oil, originating from two olive-trees, passed into seven lamps. The precise details of the vision cannot be determined, but it is not difficult to form an intelligible idea of what the prophet saw. One scholar suggests that the seven lamps were arranged in a circle round the bowl, so that light was shed in all directions.[2] The actual position, however, matters very little. Clearly the vision was connected with the building of the post-Exilic Temple; this point only need be emphasized now. The Temple was to be rebuilt *not by*

came towards the conclusion of the service. But see Singer, p. clvi, where the word is connected with פטר (pāṭar), to set free.

[1] See Büchler, p. 46.

[2] Wright, *Zechariah and His Prophecies, ad. loc.* See also an article upon the prophecy in *Church and Synagogue*, October 1900, vol. ii, No. 5, p. 229.

might, nor yet by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts. It was the priests' duty to kindle the lights therein; to the prophet that sacred task appeared to have been actually accomplished. Most appropriate is this lection for *Ḥanukkah*, because the importance with which the ceremony of rekindling the lights at the Re-dedication was regarded can scarcely be overrated.

The other lesson to which reference has been made was taken from 1 Kings vii. An uncertainty exists, however, as to the point where the lesson actually commenced. One suggestion makes the lesson commence at verse 40; another makes it commence at verse 49. Dr. Büchler points out that the *Pesiḳta* makes verse 51 the commencement.[1] There would, of course, in this case be no reference to the concept of Light; nevertheless the passage would be appropriate inasmuch as it would contain a description of certain offerings and in this respect be parallel to a Torah reading used at *Ḥanukkah* in later times, namely, Num. vii. 84.[2]

Mr. Jacobs speaks of one other prophetical lection used at this Feast.[3] There were, as a matter of fact, two others. The third *Haphtarah* was taken from 1 Kings xviii, and commenced at verse 31. Of this passage sufficient was probably read to remind the worshippers of the miracle performed at Mount Carmel when Elijah called for a test between the powers of Baal and those of Yahweh.[4]

This brings us to the last *Haphtarah*, taken from the prophet Zephaniah, and commencing, as we learn from *Pesiḳta Rabbati*, at the twelfth verse of the first chapter. Here again the concept of Light appears, but it is singularly unlike that found in the other *Haphtaroth*. No emblem of joy and thanksgiving is this light, for the reference is to

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. p. 107.
[3] Art. 'Triennial Cycle,' *J.E.*, vol. xii. pp. 254 ff.
[4] Cf. especially verse 38, where fire from heaven descends on the altar, an idea which may harmonize with the conception of Light.

the very light to be used by Yahweh when He will thoroughly search Jerusalem in order to punish iniquity. One may note in conclusion that some MSS. add a second clause to the verse which contains this conception of Light, so that the text may then be translated *I will search Jerusalem with lamps, and I will visit Jerusalem with lamps.*[1]

This chapter may close with a brief survey of the psalm proper for *Ḥanukkah.*[2] Psalm xxx is superscribed by a title which is obviously composite and appears to indicate the existence of two traditions.[3] Of this title the latter part testifies to the liturgical use of the psalm, which, if used at the institution of *Ḥanukkah,* was certainly composed before that time.[4] The Hebrew word *shîr* is not found in the title of any other psalm of the First Book; one may reasonably suppose that it was added to the original superscription at a date subsequent to that of the composition of the psalm.[5] One would be reluctant to dogmatize, however, as to the period when the psalmist actually wrote. Perhaps he lived in those days which almost immediately

[1] Cod. Taurinensis and certain less important MSS.

[2] See *Sopherim,* ch. xviii, 2.

[3] *A Psalm; a Song at the Dedication of the House; of David.* מזמור שיר חכנת הבית לדיד. Notice that הבית is the Temple, and not, as Delitzsch thought, the palace.

[4] The composition of a psalm and its first liturgical use were not always contemporaneous events.

[5] The LXX adds to the Hebrew title the words *εἰς τὸ τέλος* which may indicate a tradition that the psalm was to be used liturgically each time *Ḥanukkah* was celebrated. The additional words are not found in Cod. x, nor in A.

NOTE: Dr. King suggests the possibility that there existed a cycle for reading the psalms which at one time commenced, not in *Nisan* but in *Shebat.* He shows that if there were such a cycle, Psalm xxx would find its place on the third Sabbath in *Elul,* 'on which day, in the order of the Sedarim, Exodus xi was read, recording the Dedication of the Tabernacle.' The historical idea of Dedication would in that case be fixed on to the psalm which did not actually contain such an idea in itself. Evidence on behalf of this conjecture, however, cannot easily be adduced. There can be little doubt that a cycle for the psalms existed which commenced in *Nisan,* but this is all that can be said. (See King, *The Psalms in Three Collections,* vol. iii, p. xiii.)

preceded the Maccabæan crisis; on the other hand, his work irresistibly suggests the influence of Deutero-Isaiah, and the possibility that it may be assigned to the early part of the post-Exilic age cannot be excluded.

The psalm itself is a thanksgiving ode of real beauty. True it is that the measures are not always perfectly regular, yet there is no justification for endeavouring to fit the whole poem into a rigid and symmetrical framework.

The concluding verses of the psalm, emphasizing the thought of deliverance from calamity, were eminently fitted for use at *Ḥanukkah*.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HALLEL AND ITS LITURGICAL SETTING

THE definition of the term 'Hallel' has at times been somewhat indeterminate because it has been used in different instances to denote entirely different parts of the Psalter. R. José, indeed, designated the whole Psalter as Hallel, although scholars sometimes see in his words a reference to the Fifth Book of Psalms only. It is suggested by Dr. Briggs that four groups of Hallels exist, groups which may possibly have been separated by the final editor of the Psalter.[1] One of these groups only, the Egyptian Hallel, is to be the subject of the present discussion, the main object of which will be to show some adequate reasons for the supposition that Psalms cxiii–cxviii were put into their final form specifically for the Feast of *Ḥanukkah*.

Here are six psalms upon the examination of which much criticism has been expended. Do they form a liturgical unit? It is not suggested that they were all produced during the same period. Commentators sometimes emphasize certain words of Rabban Gamaliel which may be understood as furnishing an indication that the original object of reciting this Hallel was to stimulate interest in the celebration of Passover by giving praise for the deliver-

[1] Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (*I.C.C.*), *ad loc.*

NOTE: The liturgical word *halᵉlû-yāh* occurs at the end of many psalms, at both the beginning and also the end of others, in some instances at the beginning of a psalm alone, and in one case in the midst of a psalm. Strangely enough, the allocation of the word to certain psalms differs in the Hebrew and LXX texts. Nor does it always fit very naturally into its context; it may sometimes have been inserted in order to adapt a psalm for liturgical purposes.

ance from Egypt. Hence it is concluded that the earliest form of this Hallel consisted simply of Psalms cxiii and cxiv, both of which reflect the influence of Deutero-Isaiah and need not be placed much later than the time of Nehemiah. On the other hand, it may plausibly be urged that at least one psalm in this series—and indeed probably more than one—is to be assigned to the Maccabæan age. In other words, the different members of this group do not all present the same *motifs* and conceptions.

Nevertheless, there is no ground whatever for calling in question the essential unity of the Egyptian Hallel in its final form. The traditional theory upon the subject cannot be lightly overthrown. Notice merely one possible line of evidence in support of this contention.[1] A striking feature of these psalms is the threefold repetition of an idea occurring several times in them. Here is a device, suggesting liturgical use, which points to a connexion existing between the different members of the group. Three times in Psalm cxiii the psalmist calls for an ascription of praise to the name of Yahweh. Three times in Psalms cxv and cxviii worshippers are exhorted to demonstrate their loyalty. The thrice-repeated refrain found after the first verse of the latter psalm cannot fail to be noticed. Three times there rings out the challenge of the psalmist: *In the name of the Lord I will cut them off.* Three times he cries: *The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly.*[2]

We may now proceed to consider the liturgical and ceremonial setting of these psalms, for herein lies much of their interest. Inverting the natural order, let us begin by directing attention in the first place to the final psalm of the series, a hymn which presents the elements of a problem of extreme interest and importance, and one which must be

[1] See further Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures for 1889), p. 18.

[2] The words are not precisely the same in each instance.

examined with especial care. If the text of Psalm cxviii be read, the reader is conscious that he is in the atmosphere of the Feast of Maccabæan Re-dedication.[1] Every verse may be summarized in the word 'Victory'! Some tremendous deliverance has taken place. Who is the hero who dares to use such startling words as those quoted above? Who indeed but Judas the Hammer, exultant after his magnificent triumph at Beth-zur? The battle fought there and won by this brilliant commander, was the means of rescuing from the heathen the sanctuary which they had so ruthlessly desecrated. The joy experienced by the faithful at the Re-dedication of the Temple in the year 165 B.C. is vividly reflected in the words of this psalm. The linguistic affinities existing between the words of Judas recorded here, and his prayer in 1 Macc. iv. 33 ff., are notable, and lend plausibility to the assumed connexion.

Every verse of the psalm is singularly apposite for use at the Feast of Re-dedication. There is no need to demonstrate the truth of this by examining each word of the psalmist. Let the reader, however, turn to verse 12. Here are words which are probably reminiscent of the principal symbol of that Feast. It has already been observed that the symbolism of Light was not peculiar to *Ḥanukkah;* it figured prominently in the ceremonies of *Sukkoth* also. But that the concept of Light and Fire figured more prominently at *Ḥanukkah* is attested in many ways, and not least of all by the well-known striking narrative concerning the rekindling of the Temple lights at the reconsecration of the sanctuary.[2] In verse 12 the present Hebrew text, it may be urged, partly obscures the significance of the original words. The Massoretic text runs as translated by the Revised Version: *They compassed*

[1] Cf. Abrahams, *Festival Studies*, p. 160.
[2] 2 Macc. i, 17 ff., and cf. p. 109 of this essay.

me about like bees; they are quenched as the fire of thorns. In the name of the Lord I will cut them off.[1] But the LXX, which may well reflect an earlier text, renders the verse thus: *They compassed me about as bees (compass) honey, and they burst into flames as fire among thorns, but in the name of the Lord I destroyed them.*[2] This seems to the present writer to bring out more strictly the original meaning which the psalmist intended to convey, for he could scarcely fail to have contrasted in thought the fierce fire of the heathen onslaughts with the gracious fire of Yahweh, rekindled at the Feast of Re-dedication. And indeed the thought of the Temple, splendidly regained from the power of the Syrians, was ever present with the author of this psalm. *Open me the gates of righteousness,* he cries, *that I may go into them, and give thanks unto the Lord.* Then, as he pictures the solemn procession entering the sacred precincts, not to celebrate the Divine Kingship, but rather to return thanks for the restoration of the Temple, he throws out his challenge: *This is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter into it.*[3]

Attention may now be directed to the text of verse 22: *The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner.* To what does the psalmist refer? Many scholars consider the reference to be a national one; Israel, the chosen of Yahweh, are the stone.[4] Such an interpretation, however, is somewhat forced and unnatural. Strangely enough, it has been completely overlooked by commentators

[1] סַבּוּנִי כִדְבֹרִים דֹּעֲכוּ כְּאֵשׁ קוֹצִים בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה כִּי אֲמִילַם

[2] *Ἐκύκλωσάν με ὡσεὶ μέλισσαι κηρίον, καὶ ἐξεκαύθησαν ὡς πῦρ ἐν ἀκάνθαις, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου ἠμυνάμην αὐτούς.*

[3] For Mowinckel's reconstruction of the liturgical setting of this psalm, see p. 94.

[4] Some scholars insist that the stone represents the Hasmonæan family, once despised, afterwards honoured. Incidentally it is interesting to note that Ps. cxiii. 7, 8 have been interpreted as a reference to the rise of the Hasmonæans to the princely rank.

that this psalm-verse must be read in conjunction with the Zechariah *Haphtarah* for *Ḥanukkah*. It is, in fact, important to notice in this connexion the evidence of the prophetical lections for the Feast which affords some definite light on the liturgical reconstruction. In the present instance, an affinity clearly exists between the words of the psalmist and those of the prophet. We may first of all examine a passage from Zechariah, which, although forming no part of the actual liturgy for *Ḥanukkah*, illuminates the liturgical *Haphtarah* of that prophet in a striking manner. In chapter iii. 9, Zechariah, speaking in the name of Yahweh, says: *Behold the stone which I have laid before Joshua.* What is the significance of this stone? It is none other than the headstone of the Temple which had been prepared but had not been placed in position. The foundation-stone had been laid after the return from Exile. But all efforts to complete the sacred building had been abandoned. The liturgical lection itself now comes to our assistance. Verse 9 of chapter iv presents a vivid picture. The enemies of Yahweh are mocking. Of what value were the foundations of the Temple when the building would never be finished? Then Yahweh speaks: *The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations of this house; his hands shall finish it.* In other words, the stone which the builders had put aside should yet become *the head of the corner.*

We may now pass to consider the former of the two passages to which reference has been made above. The stone is said to have *seven eyes* upon it. Our *Haphtarah* deals further with this strange description. We read: *They shall rejoice and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel with those seven: they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.* The prophecy also contains the promise that Yahweh will engrave the head corner-stone with its engravings. Then there shall follow a day of peace when the stone shall have been placed

at the head of the corner. *In that day shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig-tree.*[1]

In view of this comparison we may claim that a real similarity in conception of thought exists between psalmist and prophet. We may even go further and urge that the *Haphtarah* from Zechariah has actually determined the form of the psalm-verse; or, in other words, the psalmist alludes to the prophetical lection.

The assumed connexion here indicated offers a satisfactory explanation of the psalmist's words. It does more. It furnishes an argument in favour of the theory that Psalm cxviii is peculiarly a part of the liturgy for *Ḥanukkah*. In conclusion we may notice that the verse of that psalm, which has been the subject of this discussion, gives definite expression to a feature which is always prominent on occasions of dedication or re-dedication, namely, that of placing a corner-stone in position.[2] The psalm is eminently appropriate for the Feast of Maccabæan Re-dedication, not least of all for the reason that it enshrines a thought which was expressed in a different way in one of the *Haphtaroth* readings for that Feast.

Verse 24, which must now be considered, furnishes a hint that the psalm should be read in the light of some festival: *This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it.* On the occasion of a dedication much earlier in the history of Israel, the people departed to their tents, when the solemnities were completed, *joyful and glad of heart.*[3] One is irresistibly reminded on reading these words of a day even more venerated in the records of the Hebrews than that on which the Temple of Solomon was dedicated—a day concerning which it was written that at that time

[1] *Loc. cit.*, iii. 10.

[2] Cf., e.g., the seventh-century office hymn of the Church for Dedication, *Angularis fundamentum.*

[3] 2 Chron. vii. 10.

there was exceeding great gladness among the people, and the reproach of the Gentiles was turned away.[1]

It will be convenient to defer any comment upon verse 25 for the present. Passing to the first half of verse 27, we note the following significant words :—

The Lord is God, and He hath given us light.

Mowinckel, sharing with many scholars the view that Psalm cxviii was peculiarly associated with *Sukkoth,* finds in these words an allusion to the pillar of light by which Israel was led at the Exodus. But would it not be more reasonable to see here a reference to the dominant *motif* of *Ḥanukkah* ? Most fitly might these words of the psalmist be used at the Feast of the winter solstice, a Feast which embodied the conception of Light so conspicuously in its liturgy and ceremonial.

Some striking evidence which supports this suggestion has hitherto remained entirely unobserved by scholars. *The Lord is God.* It has been pointed out by Mowinckel and Cheyne that these words re-echo the cry of Israel at Mount Carmel when Yahweh had vindicated His divine power and by the hand of Elijah had frustrated the prophets of Baal.[2] But both writers pass over in silence the striking fact that the passage from Kings which describes Yahweh's victory is actually a *Haphtarah* for *Ḥanukkah.* What is the special significance of this passage in this connexion ? The affinity which exists between these two professions of faith in Yahweh is not to be ascribed to the mere chance of phraseological coincidence. The psalm was intended to be read in the light of the prophetical passage. The Israelites shout on Mount Carmel : *Yahweh* (not Baal) *is God.* In a similar manner the Maccabæans raise the song of triumph in their re-dedicated Temple : *Yahweh* (not Zeus) *is God.*

[1] 1 Macc. iv. 58.

[2] 1 Kings xviii. 39.

The divinity of Yahweh was attested at Mount Carmel by the miraculous descent of fire from heaven. Worshippers at *Ḥanukkah* were reminded by the reading of a *Haphtarah* of the fire which *fell and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood and the stones and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench.* But this is not all. They were reminded also of other occasions when a similar miracle happened. *God is the Lord, and hath showed us light.* Could they fail to think of the fire which at the *Dedication* of the Tabernacle and at that of Solomon's Temple fell from heaven and consumed the Offerings, thus attesting incontrovertibly that God was the Lord?[1] Even at the Re-dedication *the sun shone out, which before was hid with clouds* and *there was kindled a great blaze, so that all men marvelled.*[2]

The first part of verse 27, then, is eminently fitted for use at the Feast of Re-dedication, and the background here suggested seems more probable than the view of Baethgen, who argues with regard to this psalm that it was sung for the first time at the celebration of *Sukkoth* in the year 444.[3]

The latter part of verse 27 has been the subject of considerable controversy. On all sides the English renderings[4] are regarded with dissatisfaction and suspicion, because it was not customary, so far as we know, to bind the victim to the horns of the altar. Other difficulties are present in the Hebrew text. The use of the preposition עד is awkward. The translation of חג as *victim* is highly doubtful. Many conjectures have been advanced which are mostly unconvincing, even confessedly unsatisfactory.[5]

[1] Lev. ix. 24; 2 Chron. vii. 1.

[2] 2 Macc. i, 21.

[3] *Op. cit., ad loc.*

[4] A.V. and R.V.: *Bind the sacrifice with cords, (even) unto the horns of the altar.*

[5] Cf., for instance, the vagueness of the translation issued by the Jewish Publication Society where the half-verse is rendered: *Wreathe ye the festival march with branches of myrtle.*

A brilliant one, however, has been made by Dr. Thackeray, who, building upon a suggestion thrown out in the first place by Dr. Briggs, sees in the words under discussion a liturgical rubric which has worked its way into the text of the psalm.[1] Space does not permit us to examine Dr. Thackeray's theory in detail, and one point only may be emphasized here. Dr. Thackeray, in common with many other scholars, appears to regard the psalm as primarily intended for use at *Sukkoth*.[2] The whole of his argument might, however, be read and interpreted as referring to *Ḥanukkah* without any violence being done to it.

Another brilliant explanation of these difficult words of the psalmist is to be found in Mowinckel's study of the psalm.[3] This scholar, as we have already pointed out, lays special stress upon the use of Psalm cxviii in connexion with the Accession-Festival of Yahweh. He accepts also the evidence supplied by the Mishnah tractate *Sukkah*, where it is recorded that certain processions were made round the altar in the Temple during the singing of this psalm.[4] It is, of course, to the Feast of *Sukkoth* that reference is made in this tractate. But there is reason to believe that the liturgical procession at *Ḥanukkah* was made in a precisely similar way. What do we know about this procession? It is certain that at *Sukkoth*, the priests, carrying the *lulab* in their right hand, and the *ethrog* in their left, made a circuit of the altar on each of seven days. On each of the first six days of the Feast they encompassed the altar once; on the seventh day they did so seven times. When the choir sang words contained in verse 25, *Save now, we beseech Thee, O Lord*, the branches were waved

[1] *The LXX and Jewish Worship*, p. 75.

[2] The psalm, as we have seen, was certainly *used* at *Sukkoth* (see p. 105).

[3] Mowinckel, *op. cit.* See also an article by C. H. Toy in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, vol. i, p. 9.

[4] *Sukkah* iv. 5–7.

towards the altar.[1] These considerations are not without a distinct bearing upon all interpretations of verse 27 which can lay claim to any degree of plausibility. In the present instance they are of considerable importance. It is, in fact, to those who took part in the liturgical processions around the altar that Mowinckel refers when he translates חג as 'a festive row of dancers' (*ein Festreigen*). Let us examine the words of the psalmist. If we may assume that the expression *horns of the altar* is merely synecdoche for the altar itself, then, translating עבת as *branch*, we are led to the rather startling injunction, *Bind the festive row of dancers with branches to the altar*. These words, Mowinckel urges, must be understood to convey the idea that those who took part in the procession were in some way or other bound together. How could this be? Perhaps 'the row of dancers' carried their branches in such a manner that with them they touched one another. In this way the divine energy would pass from one person to the next. Thus, we may suppose, the procession encompassed the altar seven times while the orchestra played and the people shouted. Nearer and nearer the 'row of dancers' approached to the altar, which at last was actually touched by the branches. Mowinckel hazards a brilliant conjecture when he suggests that this interpretation of the words in question is confirmed by a statement in *Sukkah*.[2] We read in that tractate that those who took part in this liturgical procession eventually placed their branches against the altar and exclaimed: 'Beauty to thee, O altar.'[3] The term 'beauty' should not

[1] Some varying traditions as to the correct place for shaking the branches are given in D. A. De Sola and M. Raphall's *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishnah*. Notice incidentally that verse 25 of Ps. cxviii appears to have been partly anticipated in Ps. xx. 9—at least this is so in the case of the Hebrew text, although not in that of the LXX and Vulgate, which have a different reading.

[2] See p. 121 of this essay.

[3] Cf. Delitzsch, *Iris, Farbenstudien und Blumenstücke*, p. 149.

be regarded in this instance as expressing any æsthetic conception; it connotes rather a superhuman power which manifests itself as a blessing. In his exegesis of other verses in Psalm cxviii, and also in many other parts of his work, Mowinckel insists emphatically upon the existence of certain ceremonies in the Hebrew cultus which were calculated to produce fertility for the ensuing year.[1] So here it is urged that the very power of the altar to bless has to be renewed, in order that the blessing may stream back richly to the worshippers. There is, then, a real purpose in touching the altar with the branches—emblems of fertility—for thus the power lying in the altar is enhanced and fertility for the coming year assured.

In considering what weight is to be allowed to this striking theory, we shall perhaps be met with the objection that the translation of חג as 'a festive row of dancers' is unsatisfactory. Certainly Gesenius is reluctant to see in this word the conception of a sacred dance. On the other hand, it may be urged that this translation is a *possible* one. The point, however, that may be especially stressed in conclusion is this: Since the ceremonies of *Ḥanukkah* correspond so closely to those of *Sukkoth*, the interpretation outlined above might well be regarded as applicable to the former Festival. In other words, the argument in the *Psalmenstudien* might be understood as referring to *Ḥanukkah* without anomaly. Mowinckel's theory, in fact, by no means destroys the validity of the thesis we are defending concerning the liturgical setting of the Hallel.

It remains in conclusion to glance cursorily at some other parts of the Hallel. We have already observed that Psalms cxiii–cxviii do not necessarily proceed from a single psalmist or group of psalmists.[2] Clearly the background appears

[1] Mowinckel, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[2] But see art. 'Hallel,' *J.E.*, and Cheyne's art. in *The Expositor*, Fourth Series, vol. i, p. 199. Also Montefiore, *The Psalms*, p. 537.

not to be the same in every instance. If the original form of the first two psalms is to be assigned to a date not much later than the days of Nehemiah, the three following psalms may well have originated in the Greek period. One thing, however, is quite certain: the various psalms have been glossed and edited in such a way as to adapt them for liturgical use in the Maccabæan age. Note, then, words in Psalm cxiii which seem to echo the great triumph of the Hasmonæans: *He raiseth the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the needy from the dunghill; that He may set him with princes.* Psalm cxiv is a hymn of singular beauty, commemorating the deliverance from Egypt. We may suppose, with Mowinckel, that the thought of the Exodus found a prominent place in the celebrations of *Sukkoth.* The same idea may have been enshrined in the liturgy of another Feast, the fundamental note of which was Deliverance. There would have been no glaring anachronism in singing Psalm cxiv at *Ḥanukkah.* We have finally to notice some words in Psalm cxvi which breathe the very spirit and temper of the *Hasidim*: *The Lord preserveth the simple: I was brought low, and He saved me.*[1] Simple-heartedness! It was the one characteristic above all others which enabled the Hebrew saints undauntedly to endure the frenzy of Antiochus. Note also the striking appositeness of verse 15 to the persecution of Antiochus: *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.*

In conclusion, a few points of general interest may very briefly detain us. The Talmud inquires why the Hallel should be said at *Ḥanukkah* and not at *Purim.*[2] There must be some adequate reason for this tradition which is still observed to-day. The answer is in accordance with the conclusions we have already indicated: the psalms of the Hallel were intended especially for use at the Feast

[1] Verse 6.

[2] T.B. *Erachin,* 10b.

of Re-dedication. From another Talmudic statement,[1] we gather that the Hallel was composed in order to celebrate feast-days and to commemorate deliverance. What deliverance, indeed, if not that from the fury of the Syrian tyrants? 'They fixed those days and made them a festival with Hallel and thanksgiving.'[2] *Rashi*,[3] commenting on these words, remarks that the Hallel is recited at *Ḥanukkah*, and a special prayer for that Feast is added to the *Amidah*.

[1] T.B., *Shabbath*, 21b.

[2] בהלל והודאה. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, p. 130 (1924 edition) discusses this point and attempts to show that a passage in 1 Macc. iv. 59 ff., which refers to *Ḥanukkah* is parallel. I must, however, admit with reluctance that the parallelism between the Greek and Hebrew words is not very striking.

[3] I.e. Rabbi Shelomoh Yishaki of the eleventh century.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HALLELUJAH PSALMS

THE canonical Psalter concludes with an outburst of praise, a veritable transport of joy which can scarcely be dissociated from a great crisis in the history of the Hebrews. In their original form, some of the Hallelujah Psalms may date from the time of Nehemiah; in their final redaction they all clearly reflect the immense triumphs of Judas Maccabæus and his co-religionists. Israel is finally victorious, ready to execute a terrible vengeance upon the enemy who have sought to extirpate faith in Yahweh. Psalms these are which must ever hold a prominent position in liturgical literature; they are eminently fitted to be a conclusion to the Psalter.

It is a very plausible conjecture that in tracing the development of the history of psalmody three outstanding landmarks are to be observed. Three occasions there were when a great impetus was given to the task of collecting and editing psalms.[1] The age of Nehemiah, an age of revival, witnessed the promulgation of the first important liturgical collection of psalms. The age of Ezra witnessed the second.[2] Lastly, it is to be remembered that with the spirit of religious enthusiasm that followed in the wake of the Maccabæan victories there arose a new band of psalmists who devoted themselves to the task of rendering the liturgical worship in the Temple as beautiful and edifying as it could possibly be. Their handiwork, produced perhaps under the *ægis* of Simon Maccabæus, may be seen to-day. Fresh psalms, breathing the very spirit of the Maccabæans, were composed. Psalms already in existence were, in some

[1] See Steuernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 738. [2] See p. 44.

cases, emended and redacted, while additional associations were grafted on to their original form.[1] Various local collections of psalms were brought together and placed in the liturgical library of the sanctuary.

In this connexion the Hallelujah Psalms may be considered. They are a liturgical unit which theologically, historically, critically, and eschatologically fits into the Maccabæan age. Much of their significance is lost if we fail to read them in the light of that age. Internal evidence lends further confirmation to this conclusion.[2] It is obvious that more than a mere coincidence of language exists between the concluding psalms of the Psalter and certain passages in 1 and 2 Maccabees.[3] Nor can we fail to observe the many affinities they possess with the Hallel.[4] Finally, they exhibit in a striking manner the criteria which are admittedly Maccabæan. It has been suggested that the term *Ḥasidim* as used in these psalms is to be understood in a technical sense to denote the party of the pious who spurned the Antiochian persecution. This is probable, but not certain; its presence in these psalms is, however, a factor which cannot be overlooked. But there is little need to labour points of internal evidence.

The Maccabæan redaction of the Psalter closes the last chapter in the history of its evolution. Perhaps the custom of reciting psalms privately at a time when public worship was impossible enhanced their dignity and shed a spirit of sanctity upon their very text. Be that as it may, soon after the Maccabæan psalmists had left their final impress

[1] Psalm xliv, e.g., probably contains traces of Maccabæan redaction. Cf. also the remarks on p. 41 of this essay.

[2] The ascription in the LXX of some of the Hallelujah Psalms to Haggai and Zechariah need not be regarded as weakening this contention. It is quite natural that psalms sung at the Re-dedication of the Temple should be assigned to those prophets who, in an earlier age, were largely instrumental in effecting the rebuilding of the Temple.

[3] Cf. especially 1 Macc. xiii. 50, with these psalms.

[4] See Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters*, p. 83.

upon the Psalter, the text of the psalms became fixed and unchangeable owing to their reception into the Canon.[1]

[1] The evidence of the prologue to Ecclesiasticus makes it practically certain that at the time when the grandson of Ben Sira wrote, *c.* 132 B.C., the three parts of the Hebrew Bible already existed in a Greek translation, and though the third part may not have included everything in the Hagiagrapha, it almost certainly contained the full text of the Psalter.

PART III

THE PSALMS AND THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE

CHAPTER XV

A GLIMPSE AT THE EARLY SYNAGOGUE

It will be the principal aim of these concluding chapters to examine certain aspects of the synagogue-liturgy, and chiefly to indicate, if possible, some grounds which appear to render probable the conclusion that, in the system of the primitive synagogue, the element of psalmody was not an unknown factor. This line of argument runs counter to certain ideas put forth some years ago in an article which the late Dr. Gibson, sometime Bishop of Gloucester, contributed to the pages of the *Expositor*.[1] This distinguished scholar urged very strenuously that the character of the service in the early synagogue was scarcely *worship* in the true sense of that word, and that the singing of psalms found no place in that service. 'The synagogue service of the Jews,' he wrote, 'was essentially didactic, and originally contained no psalms whatever.'[2]

The problem of the place of psalmody in the ancient synagogue falls naturally into two parts, for the existence of synagogues both in Palestine and also in the *Diaspora* is clearly attested. No reference is made in the work of Dr. Gibson to the twofold aspect which the present subject thus assumes; it must, however, be clearly borne in mind throughout the following investigation.

It will be necessary to make a brief survey of the probable origin of the synagogue-system, yet first it will be convenient

[1] 'On the Relation of Christian to Jewish Worship,' *Expositor*, Fourth Series, vol. ii, pp. 22–35.

[2] The second principal contention of Dr. Gibson was that the *Missa Catechumenorum* of the Christian Church, a lineal descendant of the synagogue-service, contained no element of psalmody. See ch. xviii of the present essay.

to make a few observations upon the principal characteristics exhibited by the Palestinian and *Diaspora*-synagogues at a time when they had developed as an institution and were widely and firmly established.

It is well known that in the case of the *Diaspora*-synagogues the allegorical method of interpreting the Scriptures was used. From this fact scholars have sometimes concluded that the Hellenistic Jews were led to accept many heretical and fantastic doctrines.[1] Such an argument, however, must be used with considerable caution. The Jews who lived outside the bounds of Palestine, although influenced to no small extent by Hellenism, were perfectly orthodox in their religion.[2] The differences that existed between them and their brethren in Palestine must not be exaggerated.[3]

There is nothing improbable, then, in the contention that in both types of synagogue, worship was conducted upon similar lines. Among the Dispersion the most important parts of the liturgy would almost certainly have been recited in Greek, and in this connexion it is interesting to note that the Mishnah records permission for the *Shema'* and the *Amidah* to be said in any language.[4]

We may proceed to inquire what light is thrown upon the subject by the sources which refer to the synagogue in its early stages. The passage in Psalm lxxiv. 8, which used sometimes to be adduced as evidence of the existence of synagogues in Judæa at the time that the psalmist wrote, is now usually understood as being a reference either to the Temple or to the assemblies which were held in the courts of the Temple during festivals.[5] Indeed, there

[1] See Friedländer, *Synagogue und Kirche in ihren Anfängen.*

[2] See art. in *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, 1910, pp. 67 ff.

[3] See Abrahams, *Some Permanent Values in Judaism*, p. 49.

[4] *Sotah*, vii. 1.

[5] *They have burned up all the assemblages in the land.* See *Church and Synagogue*, xii, No. 3, July 1910.

appears to be no evidence forthcoming which would clearly indicate the existence of synagogues in Judæa anterior to the Maccabæan period, and when it is remembered that the Books of Maccabees contain no allusion to the synagogue-system, it seems probable that such a system did not exist in Palestine at the time of the Antiochian persecution. Friedländer, then, is almost certainly correct when he urges that the synagogue as a definite institution made its first appearance in the *Diaspora*, and not in Palestine.

We may now turn to some of the evidence throwing light upon the early synagogue which is adduced by Dr. Gibson on behalf of his contention. In the first place, from the writings of Philo three quotations are made. These are taken respectively from a fragment fortunately preserved by Eusebius, the treatise *De Septenario*, and *Quod omnis probus liber*.[1] These excerpts certainly tend to support the conclusion adopted by Dr. Gibson when, referring to the testimony of Philo, he writes: 'Three brief accounts are given in various parts of his works, and in none of these is there mention of anything but the reading of Scripture, and the sermon or exposition.' Our survey must, however, be extended somewhat further. A certain significance is to be attached to the consideration that Philo uses the word προσευχή (prayer, a place for prayer) far more frequently than he uses συναγωγή (synagogue).[2] Of course, προσευχή is a shortened form of οἶκος προσευχῆς (house of prayer). And again, the frequent use of the word προσευκτήριον (a place for prayer) is worthy of note. Perhaps it will be objected that to prove the synagogues to have been used for the purpose of prayer does not prove them to have been used for the purpose of hymnody. In

[1] Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* viii, vii. Philo, *De Septenario*, vi. *Quod om. prob. lib.* xii. See Appendix III, where the passages are quoted.

[2] It occurs in *In Flacc.* vi. 7, 14; *Leg. ad Gaium* xx, xxiii, xliii, xlvi, and *Vita Mos.* iii. 27. See also Josephus, *Vita* liv, *Ant.* XIV. x. 23, and also 3 Macc. vii. 20.

reply to this objection it may be asserted that none the less prayer would almost certainly involve an element of praise. But further evidence of a more important nature is not wanting. Philo alludes to παιᾶνες (chants), ὕμνοι (hymns), ᾠδαί (songs), as actually sung within the synagogue.[1] This allusion is noted by Dr. Gibson in a footnote, wherein he insists that it is to be interpreted as referring to a special occasion only. Such a contention is not very convincing. Other instances from the writings of the Jewish philosopher which may be cited to support the view here taken refer—according to Dr. Gibson—to the customs of the Therapeutæ; one of these references is said to be wholly unconnected with public worship, while the others are thought merely to throw a sidelight upon a festive meal at important feasts.[2] This savours somewhat a special pleading; it is very improbable that the custom of singing psalms and hymns was confined to the Therapeutæ. If they possessed the custom, it is so much the more probable that the regular synagogue also sanctioned it.

The position taken in this essay receives additional support from Josephus. The priestly historian makes use of the word προσευχή (a place for prayer), and on one occasion he refers to a particular synagogue as τὸ ἱερόν (the temple), thus adopting, in a striking and significant manner, a term elsewhere reserved exclusively to denote the sacred shrine of the Temple.[3]

Further, the New Testament furnishes a basis of independent testimony. In the Gospels, and also in the Acts of the Apostles, several passages bear witness to the use of the synagogue for purposes of instruction or preaching. A list of these passages is subjoined.[4] They contain, it is

[1] *In Flacc.* xiv. [2] *De Vita Cont*, iii, 10.

[3] *Bell. Jud.* VII. iii. 3. See also Oesterley, *The Psalms in the Jewish Church*, ch. viii, where further evidence is adduced.

[4] St. Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; xiii. 54. St. Mark i. 21, 22, 39; vi. 2. St. Luke iv. 15–21 (notice the reading of the *Haphtarah*, and also the homily),

true, no allusion to the offering of prayer and praise. But the reason for the absence of any such allusion is not difficult to find. Primarily the evangelists were not concerned with the task of describing the mode of procedure observed throughout the whole synagogal service. They were concerned, however, with the task of emphasizing that particular portion of the service which was of special importance in the development of the sacred narrative. Nor is this all. If for a moment we waive the point at issue and assume that psalmody may have been unknown in early synagogue-worship, we must at least admit that by the commencement of the Christian era, synagogues both in Palestine and in the *Diaspora* were used for other purposes than those of instruction and preaching. Thus, in the Gospels, there are recorded several cases of healing which were mercifully performed within the walls of the Palestinian synagogues. The synagogue was, moreover, certainly used also as a court of justice, and the punishment of scourging was inflicted therein. Yet how little do we read in the pages of the New Testament of these aspects of the synagogal system! May we not, then, plausibly infer that, in many instances, reference to psalmody as practised within the synagogue, may have been omitted, merely because such allusions would have served no useful purpose?

Fortunately, however, we are not obliged to rest content with purely negative evidence. St. Matthew's Gospel contains an express allusion to the custom of praying in the synagogue: . . . *They love to stand and pray in the synagogues*. . . .[1] Dr. Gibson insists that these words are to be interpreted as referring to *private* prayers said in a public place—a somewhat arbitrary assumption. Why should people resort to the synagogue for private prayer if public

31, 32, 44; vi. 6; xiii. 10. St. John vi. 59; xviii. 20. Acts ix. 20; xiii. 5, 14 *seq.*, 27; xiv. 1; xv. 21; xvii, 2, 17; xviii, 4, 19, 26.

[1] St. Matt. vi. 5.

prayer was disallowed? Continuing our survey of relevant passages, we must notice certain words in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians: *When ye come together each one hath a psalm.*[1] It is true the Apostle is speaking of an assembly not of Jews in their synagogue, but of Christians; yet it must always be remembered that early Christian worship was to a large extent modelled on, and influenced by, Jewish synagogue-worship. We may notice, moreover, a quotation from the Acts of the Apostles which appears to have a direct bearing upon the present point: *And they, when they heard it, lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, O Lord, Thou that didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea. . . .*[2] Here the language of the prayer is framed in such a way as to suggest liturgical influence. Is it fanciful to see in the opening words a reminiscence of synagogue-prayer?

In the following chapter certain arguments will be adduced on behalf of the contention that psalms were sung in the Palestinian synagogues. Before the present chapter closes, however, attention may be directed to a piece of evidence which appears definitely to indicate the existence of psalmody in the *Diaspora*-synagogues. St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians contains a lyrical passage that has formed the subject of much discussion:

> *Wherefore (he) saith, Awake, thou that sleepest,*
> *And arise from the dead,*
> *And Christ shall shine upon thee.*[3]

The passage may possibly have been based upon some words in Isaiah, but it is certainly not a quotation from that book.[4] The suggestion of St. Jerome that it is cited from an apocryphal work lacks support. The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that the Apostle is quoting from some liturgical hymn or psalm which he had heard in the synagogues of the Dispersion.

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 26. [2] Acts, iv. 24. [3] v. 14. [4] Cf. Isa. lx. 1.

CHAPTER XVI

PSALMODY AND THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE

SOME arguments have been already adduced in favour of the view that psalmody was not unknown in the worship of the ancient synagogue. It is not suggested that the singing of psalms formed a really prominent feature of that worship. Throughout the whole post-Exilic period the task of multiplying manuscripts would have been no very easy matter. Even at a time when the custom of liturgical reading had been adopted, it would have been difficult to provide the many copies of the existing Psalter which would have been necessary, had an extensive collection of psalms been in use.[1] In the later synagogue only a selection of psalms was used in the service, and this must surely have been the case also in the ancient synagogue. Certain pieces would be well known to the people, such as the song of the Red Sea (Exod. xv) and the daily psalms which were sung in the Temple.

What, then, was the position of psalmody in the early Palestinian synagogues? First of all, public worship, let it be observed, was by no means performed exclusively in the Temple. It is well known, for instance, that pilgrims on their journey to Jerusalem were accustomed to sing the Songs of Ascents, psalms composed probably in order that they might be used in that manner. Further, a famous passage in the Book of Nehemiah contains a description of a service which was wholly unconnected with the Temple-worship.[2] It is unnecessary, however, to stress this point, so obviously true.

[1] See also art. 'The Jewish use of the Psalter,' *Church and Synagogue*, April 1907, vol. ix, No. 2.

[2] Neh. viii.

In an earlier portion of this essay reference has been made to the division of the priests, Levites and laity into courses, a division which had been effected by the time of the Chronicler. The special significance of the division of the laity is seen when it is remembered that a part of each course was required to be present in its turn at the Temple, and to assist at the worship there daily throughout a week, the rest of the course remaining on duty at their local synagogue.[1] For the communities living at a distance from Jerusalem, the local synagogues must have taken the place, to a large extent, of the Temple. They offered possibilities of corporate worship which must eagerly have been seized.[2] The restrictions, then, under which many of the laity found themselves in living so far from the Temple really tended to their advantage. For them the synagogue-worship became a powerful stimulus, enriching their devotional life. To their synagogue they resorted not only to receive instruction but also to learn the art of spiritual communion. The services at which they assisted supplied possibilities of worship in addition to, and in some instances independent of, the sacrificial system. The synagogue had no altar, and therefore could have no sacrifice, but there certainly existed no intrinsic opposition between the character of its worship and that of the Temple.[3] Indeed, it may be said with a certain amount of plausibility that the synagogue-service was intended to provide the best possible substitute for the service of the altar; the mere fact that

[1] *R.W.S.*, p. 360 (ed. 1911).

[2] See Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 251. See also Hunter, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 222. The worship in the synagogue enabled the people to participate more actively in the service than the ritual of the Temple had permitted them to do.

[3] The psalmists allude but seldom to the rites of sacrifice, and their silence is in some instances to be explained by the observation that they were writing psalms which were to be used in the synagogue, and not in the Temple. With reference to the present subject see Cohen, First of Five Lectures on *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity*, pp. 11 and 26.

public worship was performed simultaneously in Temple and in synagogue suggests that the two things were in some sense equivalent. It is interesting to notice in this connexion some words of R. Joshua ben Hannania, a member of the Temple-choir, who records that on certain days his fellow-musicians performed their duty not only in the Temple but also in the synagogue.[1] We may notice incidentally that the synagogue to which the musicians hastened when they had performed their duty in the Temple, was actually in the courts of the Temple itself.[2]

It has been observed that in the Talmudic period synagogues were fashioned according to the model of the Temple; the ark was in the west, the entrance in the east.[3] At the present time the east end of a synagogue where the ark is to be found is known as the *Hêkal* (Temple), or *Kôdesh* (Sanctuary). Every synagogue must still to-day be consecrated in a solemn manner before it may be used, and even to the ruins of a synagogue respect is to be paid by the faithful.[4] The significance of these statements will be clearly seen.

A line of evidence which is of a completely different nature may be noted at this point. The Sabbath morning service of the present synagogue-liturgy contains a beautiful liturgical piece, known usually by its opening word *Nishmat*.[5] Here is a liturgical passage reminiscent of the psalms, which deserves careful study. Apparently the *Mishnah* contains a reference to at least a part of this passage. In *Pesaḥim*[6] there is an allusion to a *Blessing of Song* which was said at the Passover meal after the fourth cup of wine and the

[1] T.B. *Erachin* 11b.

[2] See art. 'Synagogue' in *J.E.*, vol. xi, p. 620.

[3] *R.W.S.*, p. 337 (ed. 1911).

[4] The Christian scribes of the Middle Ages purposely used the word *scola* to designate the synagogue, because they declined to admit that it was a place of worship.

[5] See Singer, p. 125, and Elbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[6] *Pesaḥim* x. 7.

completion of the recitation of the Hallel. In another passage of the *Mishnah* it is asked what is meant by the *Blessing of Song*, and R. Johanan [1] in reply almost certainly cites the opening words of *Nishmat*.

Most commentators in dealing with this subject allude to a passage of the Talmud (*Berakoth* 59b), where reference is made to the blessing that should be recited on the occasion of rain. R. Judah commences the benediction proper to such an occasion; R. Johanan finishes it by quoting from the latter part of *Nishmat*. This evidence appears to indicate that *Nishmat* originated as a thanksgiving for rain, and if so the latter part of it may have been in existence long before the fall of the Temple.[2] It does not lie within the scope of the present essay to enter upon any examination of the variant texts of *Nishmat* that are in existence.[3] Nor is there need to examine the well-known legend current in the Middle Ages, wherein the authorship of *Nishmat* was ascribed to the Apostle St. Peter.[4]

To sum up. This *Benediction of Song* which, as it has been observed, possesses affinity with the Psalter, is in some of its parts undoubtedly ancient. The mere fact that such a composition was produced at all is a strong piece of evidence that psalmody was valued in the services of the synagogue. The text of this striking piece, as translated in Singer, is as follows :—

'The breath of every living being shall bless thy name, O Lord our Lord, and the spirit of all flesh shall continually glorify and exalt thy memorial, O our King; from ever-

[1] *Pesaḥim*, cxviiia.

[2] See art. 'Nishmat' in *J.E.*, vol. ix. p. 314.

[3] See, e.g., art in *J.Q.R.*, vol. xvi. 1904, p. 609.

[4] One form of the legend is given in Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien während des Mittelalters*, p. 44. See also a review upon Güdemann's work by N. Brüll, in *Yahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Litteratur*, viii Jahrgang, p. 174.

lasting to everlasting thou art God; and beside thee we have no King who redeemeth and saveth, setteth free and delivereth, who supporteth and hath mercy in all times of trouble and distress; yea, we have no King but thee.

'He is God of the first and of the last, the God of all creatures, the Lord of all generations, who is extolled with many praises, and guideth His world with loving-kindness and His creatures with tender mercies. The Lord slumbereth not, nor sleepeth; He arouseth the sleepers and awakeneth the slumberers; He maketh the dumb to speak, looseth the bound, supporteth the falling, and raiseth up the bowed.

'To thee alone we give thanks.
Though our mouths were full of song as the sea,
And our tongues of exultation as the multitude of its waves,
And our lips of praise as the wide-extended firmament;
Though our eyes shone with light like the sun and the moon,
And our hands were spread forth like the eagles of heaven,
And our feet were swift as hinds,

we should still be unable to thank thee and to bless thy name, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, for one thousandth or one ten thousandth part of the bounties which thou hast bestowed upon our fathers and upon us. Thou didst redeem us from Egypt, O Lord our God, and didst release us from the house of bondage; during famine thou didst feed us, and didst sustain us in plenty; from the sword thou didst rescue us, from pestilence thou didst save us, and from sore and lasting diseases thou didst deliver us. Hitherto thy tender mercies have helped us, and thy loving-kindnesses have not left us: forsake us not, O Lord our God, for ever. Therefore the limbs which thou hast spread forth upon us, and the spirit and breath which thou hast breathed into our nostrils, and the tongue which thou hast set in our mouths, lo, they shall thank, bless, praise, glorify, extol, reverence, hallow and assign Kingship to

thy name, O our King. For every mouth shall give thanks unto thee, and every tongue shall swear unto thee; every knee shall bow to thee, and whatsoever is lofty shall prostrate itself before thee; all hearts shall fear thee, and all the inward parts and reins shall sing unto thy name, according to the word that is written, All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto thee? Thou deliverest the poor from him that is stronger than he, the poor and the needy from him that robbeth him. Who is like unto thee, who is equal to thee, who can be compared unto thee, O God, great, mighty, and awful, most High God, Possessor of heaven and earth? We will praise, laud and glorify thee, and we will bless thy holy name, as it is said (A Psalm of David), Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless His holy name. Thou art God in thy power and might, great is thy glorious name, mighty for ever and awful by thy awful acts, the King who sitteth upon a high and lofty throne.'

At this point some of the evidence which is supplied by the Psalter may be considered. The psalms were not in every instance intended for use in the Temple; some of them were purposely written for use in the synagogue.[1] The following words which are quoted from a work of Dr. Peters are worth noting in this connexion: 'While the Psalter, as we have it, was the Temple hymnal, it also played an important part in synagogue gatherings, and through them entered most effectively into the life of the people, expressing their sentiments and becoming a method of addressing

[1] Cf. especially the didactic and instructional psalms. Notice also that the alphabetical and acrostic character of such psalms appears to indicate a synagogue-use, the acrostic arrangement providing a mnemonic scheme whereby they could easily be remembered. It may be noted incidentally that the structure of Psalm cx, which is possibly acrostic, reading backwards the name of שמעון, i.e. Simon (perhaps Maccabæus), demands a different explanation. See art. 'St. Peter in the Jewish Liturgy,' *Expository Times*, vol. xv, Oct. 1903, p. 95.

God by small groups of individuals.'[1] One more citation from this scholar may be made. 'The psalms,' he wrote, 'were in use in the synagogues, and to that use probably is to be attributed the personal character which they assumed.'[2] The personal element so conspicuously present in many psalms has been the subject of much discussion. Who is the *ego* of the Psalter?[3] Do we hear the psalmist speaking in his own name, or are we to suppose that the personified community speaks? Both interpretations are possible and legitimate. Sometimes the one is to be preferred, sometimes the other. In the majority of instances the use of the first person of the pronoun is perhaps to be regarded as referring to the nation as a whole. Yet upon the lips of particular individuals, psalms which embodied national aspirations might fittingly have been placed as expressions of personal devotion. In any case, for psalms in which the personal element figured prominently, an apposite use could have been found in the services of the synagogue. To this use also the penitential and devotional psalms would have lent themselves. Worshippers who brought their private sacrifices to the Temple would have felt the need for suitable psalms as an aid to their prayers; such psalms may well have been used by them on occasions other than that of sacrifice. Many of the faithful, having assisted at the offering of the early sacrifice, were accustomed to resort to the synagogues in order to complete their daily worship. It may perhaps be urged that these considerations, while testifying to a private and personal use of psalms in synagogue-worship, do not necessarily indicate a liturgical use of the Psalter therein.

[1] Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*, p. 381.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 379.

[3] See Wheeler Robinson, essay on 'The Social Life of the Psalmists,' in *The Psalmists* (essays on their religious experience and teaching, their social background, and their place in the development of Hebrew Psalmody), p. 84.

To this objection it may be replied that the line of demarcation between private and public prayer must not be too rigidly drawn, and that in the liturgical use of psalms possessing such characteristics as those to which reference has been made in the present chapter, there would have been, in the judgement of the synagogue-authorities, absolutely nothing anomalous. Several psalms, moreover, contain express references to assemblies of persons which may well be explained as gatherings in the synagogues for purposes of worship.[1] Further, there is every reason to believe that the liturgical and private use of psalms in the synagogue was a factor which helped to determine the final form of the Psalter.[2]

From a perusal of certain Mishnah tractates further evidence may be gathered. Thus, *Berakoth* indicates the practice of prayer in synagogue-worship. *Rosh Ha-shanah*, *Megillah* and *Tamid* also furnish evidence worthy of note.[3] To *Megillah* Dr. Gibson refers in support of his own contention. It must be conceded that no allusion to psalmody is found in this tractate, which nevertheless records the main elements in the service of the synagogue. One could, however, scarcely expect to find a *complete* survey of the synagogal liturgy in a treatise dealing principally with the reading of the Book of Esther ; and here it is relevant to remark that *Megillah* contains a reference to the use of the *Shemoneh 'Esreh* in synagogue-worship which is proof positive that prayer formed an integral part of that service.

[1] See Pss. i. 5 ; xxvi. 12 ; lxxxix. 7 ; cvii. 32 ; cxi. 1 ; cxlix. 1. Notice also also that Psalm i, placed in its present position probably by advocates of the synagogal system rather than by the more zealous of the Temple-worshippers, may be an indirect intimation that the Psalter might be used in places other than the Temple. Psalm i was added to the Psalter at a comparatively late date, probably in the Maccabæan period.

[2] See Thackeray, 'Psalm lxxvi and other Psalms for the Feast of Tabernacles,' art. in *J.T.S.*, vol. xv.

[3] *Berakoth*, v. 5. *Rosh Ha-shanah*, iv. 9. *Megillah*, iv. 1 and 9. *Tamid*, iii. 4. These instances are by no means exhaustive.

Turning to the evidence of a later age, we find that *Sopherim*,[1] a tractate assigned to about 600 A.D., embodies a number of traditions concerning the use of psalms in the synagogue which are of special value. Finally, in the Midrash *Pesiḳta* differentiation is made between prayer which is offered in the open country and that which is offered within the walls of a synagogue; while in *Pesiḳta Rabbati*, a companion Midrash, the use of one's voice (? in prayer and praise) in the synagogue is enjoined, if possible.[2]

In conclusion, brief reference may be made to another line of evidence which is sufficiently pertinent to be examined subsequently somewhat in detail. Very many prayers in the present synagogue-liturgy reflect in a remarkable manner the language of the Old Testament Scriptures.[3] The liturgy is, indeed, chiefly composed of excerpts from the sacred writings and more especially from the canonical Psalter. This point has a direct bearing upon the present subject, because it affords good ground for the supposition that such features as these which are exhibited in the liturgy to-day were, to some extent, exhibited when that liturgy was in its infancy. An examination, then, of the praise-section of the daily synagogue-service will not be out of place in the following chapter.

[1] *Sopherim* is a minor tractate of the Talmud, valuable for its references to liturgical matters.

[2] *Pesiḳta* 158a, and *Pesiḳta Rabb.* c.25.

[3] See Box, 'The Jewish Prayer Book,' art. in *Church and Synagogue*, July 1905, vol. vii, No. 3, p. 98.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PSALTER AND THE ZEMIROTH

THE praise-section of the daily morning service in the synagogue to-day is known in Jewish terminology as the *Zemiroth*.[1] This section is introduced and concluded by passages of Benedictions which are of extreme beauty. Of these Benediction-passages the former opens with the ascription: *Blessed is He who said, and the world existed, blessed is He.* It closes with the doxology: *Blessed art thou, O Lord! a King magnified with praises.* This is an interesting portion of the liturgy. No reference to it, however, appears in our extant edition of the Talmud. Possibly it is to these Benedictions that Alfasi alludes when he mentions a prayer appointed by the Rabbis to be said before the offering of praise, and when he also emphasizes an injunction which appeared in his edition of the Talmud that man must always arrange the praises of God before he prays.[2] Strangely enough, in the *Sephardic* rite the passage *follows* some psalms. It would be a point of interest to ascertain whether the congregation were accustomed to repeat *Blessed is He* after each Benediction had been said. The words may have been intended for use as a response, or they may be actually part of the prayer itself. If, as has been suggested, the whole passage of Benedictions is a condensation of an earlier *piyyut*, it would originally have been considerably longer than it is at present.[3] On the other hand, the first part of the passage, from *Blessed is He*

[1] The *Ashkenazic* and *Sephardic* rites differ in the use of the psalms.

[2] Alfasi lived in the eleventh century.

[3] *Piyyut* is the name given to certain classes of synagogue-poems marked by certain artificiality of structure.

who said to *Blessed is His name,* contains no indication whatever that the singing of praises is to follow, and its absence from more than one text [1] has led scholars to conjecture that the Benedictions originally commenced at the words: *Blessed art Thou, O Lord! our God, King of the Universe.* The theory that such was the case receives confirmation from the consideration that the latter part of the passage does contain several express references to the praises of God.

Although the Benedictions were intended to form an introduction to the psalmody, the psalms do not immediately follow. In the German rite there are found some sentences from Chronicles, sentences which in other rites precede the *Blessed is He who said.* Zunz assigns the composition of the former portion of the passage to some date within the fifth, sixth, or seventh centuries.

The passage from Chronicles to which we now pass is none other than the combination of psalm-extracts which has been examined earlier in this essay.[2] During the Middle Ages the text of these excerpts was by no means rigidly fixed, and, as Elbogen has observed, the choice of verses was dictated by a preference for those that were found in the Talmud or Midrash.[3] Several liturgies embody these introductory praises from Chronicles in a different position; no record whatever of them is contained in the *Amram* Prayer Book and the Cairo-*Genizah* fragments.[4] The suggestion that this passage, coupled with a somewhat similar passage which follows the psalms themselves, originally formed the festival liturgy adds no little interest to this portion of the *Zemiroth.* It is noticeable that the psalm-excerpts are made from the text of Chronicles, and

[1] Namely the Cairo-*Genizah* fragments and the old Roman rite.

[2] In ch. iii.

[3] Elbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[4] The *Amram* Prayer Book (the *Seder* of Rab Amram) is to be placed about A.D. 875. 'This "*Seder*" formed the basis of all subsequent Jewish Prayer Books (both *Sephardic* and *Ashkenazic*).' *R.W.S.* (ed. 1911), p. 104.

not from that of the Psalter. This preference for the text of the historical book is difficult to explain; for the present purpose, however, the point is immaterial.

There now follow further introductory praises, commencing with the words: *Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at His footstool, for He is holy.*[1] One feature of this passage deserves special notice. It exhibits in a striking manner the method of composition which, as we have seen, was adopted by the Chronicler at an earlier age, namely, the joining together of various psalm-verses and the consequent production of a composite psalm.

There follows Psalm c which is recited on days when the *Hodu*-sacrifice (thanksgiving-sacrifice) was formerly presented in the Temple.[2] Naturally it is omitted on the Sabbath. Students of Jewish liturgiology are aware that this psalm once formed part of the Temple-liturgy, being used at the offering of the *Hodu*-sacrifices. The *Yemenite* Prayer Book includes this invitatory psalm; the *Amram* Prayer Book does not do so.

There follow in the liturgy the Sabbath and festival psalms. These, however, call for no special comment, and the passage that follows may be considered forthwith. To this passage, consisting largely of scattered psalm-verses fused together, there has already been occasion to allude. Here are the opening words: *The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever.* In his examination of the liturgy, Baer, at this juncture, makes an interesting observation. The name *Lord*, he remarks, appears twenty-one times in this passage (on one of these occasions by the placing together of the first letter from four words); there are, moreover, twenty-one verses, which clearly form a specific introduc-

[1] See Baer's edition of the Prayer Book (*Seder Abodath Israel*), p. 60, and also Singer, p. xxxi.

[2] The *Hodu*-sacrifices were thank-offerings made by individuals for blessings received.

tion to the twenty-one verses of the psalm which follows.[1] From the tractate *Sopherim* we learn that the congregation were accustomed to stand for this portion of the liturgy.[2] The words, however, are susceptible of more than one interpretation, and to what extent the congregation actually were accustomed to stand cannot be determined with certainty; perhaps they stood merely for the opening verse, perhaps for the whole passage. One verse in this chain of excerpts is taken from Chronicles: *Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice.* Another, containing indication of considerable age, is compounded from Psalm x. 16, Psalm xciii. 1, and Exodus xv. 18: *The Lord is King, the Lord hath governed King, and the Lord shall reign for ever and ever, the Lord is King for ever and ever: the heathen are perished out of His land.* The Book of Proverbs also is represented in this passage: *There are many devices in a man's heart; nevertheless the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand.*[3] Notice finally two quotations appended to this portion of the liturgy: *Happy are they that dwell in Thy house: they will be always praising Thee. Selah. Happy is that people that is in such a case: yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord.* In some rites, additional verses commencing similarly are found.

The most essential feature of the whole *Zemiroth* is the group of psalms (cxlv–cl) at which we have now arrived. An express reference to these Psalms as forming part of the daily liturgy is found in a record of R. José ben Chalaphta, who lived in the second century. The words of the Rabbi, as Elbogen points out, do not necessarily indicate that it was the general custom always to recite these psalms; they may be interpreted as stating that the recitation was regarded as *a meritorious practice.*[4] This observation by no means precludes the probability that the portion of the *Zemiroth*

[1] Baer, *loc. cit.*
[2] *Sopherim*, xiv. 8.
[3] Prov. xix. 21.
[4] Elbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

under consideration was at one period recited liturgically in the Temple. In this connexion Elbogen stresses a conclusion of considerable importance when he maintains that the songs of the Temple passed over to the synagogue, and that the liturgical psalms of the synagogue were selected from those used in the Temple. The present custom of repeating in the synagogue the last verse of Psalm cl may furnish an indication that formerly the praise-section of the liturgy concluded at this point. There would be nothing anomalous in any case, however, in the repetition of the final verse of the Psalter. Notice the doxologies which follow, excerpted from the psalms.

The remaining points of the *Zemiroth* are of no special importance in the present connexion. There follow three passages taken respectively from Chronicles, Nehemiah, and the Song of Moses. This threefold section of the liturgy was formerly said after the concluding Benediction, but gradually crept into the position which it now occupies. To the Song of Moses are added a few verses compounded from Psalm xxii. 29, Obadiah i. 21, Zechariah xiv. 9, and Deuteronomy vi. 4. Thus we arrive at the final Benediction : *May Thy name be praised for ever, our King !*

The portion of the liturgy with which the discussion in the present chapter has been concerned was originally recited privately. It was at this point that the reader went to the desk and addressed to the congregation the exhortation : *Bless ye the Lord, who is ever blessed.* The faithful responded with the Benediction : *Blessed be the Lord, who is blessed for evermore* ; and thenceforth began to assist actively in the rendering of the liturgy.[1]

[1] The portion of the liturgy which has been surveyed in this chapter may be recited in the synagogue even though the full quota of ten persons, necessary for the rendering of public worship, be not present. In certain rites it was formerly not customary for the worshippers to wear the phylacteries until this point in the service had been reached. See the *Maḥzor Vitry*, a compilation of prayers arranged by R. Simcha ben Samuel

It will be convenient at this point to add a note upon the subject of the pre-Christian synagogue-liturgy as a whole. To reconstruct this liturgy would be no easy task. Nevertheless it appears almost certainly to have included the following elements: the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the recitation of the *Shema'* and some Benedictions, and an elementary form of the *Amidah* or *Shemoneh 'Esreh.*

There is no necessity to add to the remarks that have already been made concerning the reading of the Law and Prophets.[1] The custom of reciting the *Shema'* is undoubtedly very ancient, and from the Mishnah we learn that this custom passed over from the Temple to the synagogue.[2] The *Shema'*, as used in the present synagogue-liturgy, is preceded and followed by Benedictions which have a direct bearing upon the problem under consideration. The first of the two Benedictions recited immediately before the *Shema'* in the evening is a thanksgiving for the sequence of day and night.[3] This liturgical piece must, in some form or other, be of extreme antiquity. The influence of Persian dualism, so obviously reflected in it, points to a date not far removed from the age of the Chronicler. The second Benediction that is said before the *Shema'* in the evening is known technically as *Ahabah.*[4] This blessing was almost certainly used in the Temple. In an earlier chapter reference was made to a service of prayer which took place in the Temple during the solemnities of the daily sacrifice.[5] It is a plausible conjecture that the blessing which, according to the Mishnah (*Tamid*, v. 1), preceded the recitation of the Commandments, was nothing else than this *Ahabah* prayer recited, perhaps, in a slightly different form. The Benediction that follows the *Shema'* in morning and evening

of Vitry in 1208 A.D. Notice also that Maimonides does not mention the *Zemiroth* as forming part of the *public* worship.

[1] See ch. xii. [2] *Tamid*, v. 1. [3] See Singer, p. 96.

[4] See art. 'Ahabah Rabbah,' in *J.E.*, vol. i., p. 281. [5] See p. 74.

is known as *Geullah*.[1] This, again, appears to embody an extremely ancient Benediction.[2]

In some form the *Shemoneh 'Esreh* or *Amidah* existed at an early date. Tradition assigns so great an antiquity to portions of this prayer that it is sometimes known simply as *Tephillah*, as though it were the one all-important prayer of Judaism. One may note that the Book of Sirach contains a liturgical passage which reflects to no small extent the language of parts of the *Amidah*-Benedictions.[3] Affinities clearly exist between the two passages, and the prayer in Sirach, being of a liturgical nature, cannot be regarded as original. Almost certainly the passage in Sirach contains an early form of the ancient Benedictions in question.

[1] See Singer, p. 99.

[2] Art. 'Geullah,' in *J.E.*, vol. v, p. 648, where a suggested early form is given and runs as follows: *We thank thee, O Lord, our God, for that thou hast brought us forth from the land of Egypt and ransomed us from the house of bondage, and hast done for us wonders and mighty deeds upon the sea; and there we sang to thee.*

[3] Cf., e.g., Sirach, ch. xxxvi. 11, with the fifth and tenth Benedictions.

CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE

(Symbolical figures at Strassburg Cathedral)

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PSALTER AND THE MISSA CATECHUMENORUM

FEW scholars would be disposed to question the proposition that the *Missa Catechumenorum* of the early Christian Church exhibited in a striking manner the influence of the Jewish synagogue-service. Dr. Gibson not only concurs with this view, but actually makes it his second principal contention. We may ask, however, what features inherited from Judaism are to be attributed to this portion of the Christian Liturgy. According to Dr. Gibson it contained no element of psalmody. To show that ground exists for the dismissal of such a theory as untenable is the main purpose of the present chapter.

The *Missa Catechumenorum*, in its early stages more aptly designated as 'the service of the word,' [1] was a natural development of the ancient vigil-service of the Christians.[2] We may picture the vigil forming, as it did, a preparation for the celebration of the Eucharist on the first day of the week. At the conclusion of the Sabbath, the Christians would gather together in their houses for the *Agapé*. Throughout the night they would keep watch, reading the Scriptures, praying, singing psalms. In the early hours of dawn the Mass would be celebrated, after which the faithful would resort to the Temple in order to assist at the offering of the Jewish sacrifice.[3]

[1] I borrow the phrase from *S.S.J.*, p. 142.

[2] It was at one time suggested by Batiffol that the Canonical Hours of the Christian Church were the ultimate outcome of the vigil (see *Histoire du Breviaire romain*, ed. 1893, ch. i). Batiffol, however, subsequently abandoned this theory. His description of the vigil may be noted here incidentally: 'Le programme des vigiles comportait trois exercices differents; la psalmodie, la lecture des saintes Ecritures, les oraisons ou collectes' (*loc. cit.*, p. 5).

[3] Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 378.

The vigil-service, then, was the immediate predecessor of the *Missa Catechumenorum.* It contained, moreover, an element of psalmody which it inherited from Judaism. Before we proceed to show that the *Missa Catechumenorum* also contained such an element, it will be convenient to note a few of the many other parallelisms which existed between that portion of the Christian Liturgy and the synagogue-services.[1]

The custom of reading lessons in the *pro-anaphoral* portion of the Mass was clearly based upon Jewish precedent.[2] It is by no means improbable that some of the ceremonies connected with the reading of the Law in the synagogue were afterwards transferred to the reading of the Gospel. The *Haphtarah* lection was followed by a homily; a discourse followed the reading of the Gospel. The concluding portion of the *Shemoneh 'Esreh,* known usually as the *Blessing of the Priests,* contains the following Benediction: *Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who blessest Thy people Israel with peace.*[3] This is closely paralleled by the salutation which was given at the commencement of the *Missa Fidelium, The peace of the Lord be with you,* and also by the bestowal of the Kiss of Peace.[4]

The point, however, with which we are more especially concerned is to demonstrate the existence of psalmody in the *Missa Catechumenorum,* and, as a consequence of this, to furnish another instance of parallelism which is of no small importance.

[1] Reference may here be made to two important works upon this subject: Skene, *The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual, being a translation of the substance of Professor Bickell's work termed 'Messe und Pascha,'* and Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy.*

[2] Cf. ch. xii. For a description of the earliest extant form of the Christian Liturgy, contained in the Eighth Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions,* see Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western,* pp. 3 ff. See also p. 155 of this essay.

[3] See Singer, p. 54.

[4] See Skene (Bickell), *op. cit.,* p. 195, where, however, there appears to be a misprint: for *praise* read *peace.*

In indicating some lines of evidence which support this view, it will be convenient, for the sake of completeness, to mention not only those instances where psalmody occurred in the *pro-anaphoral* portion of the Mass, but also those which occurred in the *Missa Fidelium* itself.

Reference has already been made to the Liturgy which is contained in the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*.[1] This early Liturgy was probably never actually used, but it is specially valuable to-day as reflecting the essential features of the Syrian Mass as celebrated in the fourth century. The *Missa Catechumenorum*, in this record, bears witness to the existence of three lessons, after the first and second of which a psalm was sung. Nor is this all. The manner in which the psalms were rendered is distinctly stated. The psalmody was precented by a reader at an ambo, and the singing was taken up by the congregation.[2] In the *Missa Fidelium* of this Liturgy there is found a reference to Psalm cxviii (the *Hosanna* and *Benedictus qui venit*), while at the Communion Psalm xxxiv was sung.

Tertullian testifies to the use of psalms at a Christian service.[3] We may not, however, press unduly the probability that he is referring to the *Missa Catechumenorum*. St. Cyril of Jerusalem throws light upon the structure of the *Missa Fidelium* only, but from him we learn that the *Anaphora* commenced with Psalm xxvi. 6, said at the *Lavabo*, and that Psalm xxxiv. 9 was sung at the Communion.[4] St. Ambrose in dealing with the *Missa Catechumenorum* makes a definite reference to psalmody as finding a place therein.[5] He also appears to indicate that in the

[1] See p. 154.

[2] See Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 29. *ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω* (Let the people sing the refrains).

[3] Tertullian, *De anima*, ch. ix.

[4] St. Cyril, *Catechetical Lectures*, xxiii.

[5] St. Ambrose, *Ep.* xxii. 4, 7.

Missa Fidelium Psalm xxiii was used at the Communion.[1] Additional evidence is to be found in the writings of St. Basil, who records that in the Cappadocian Church psalms were sung between the lessons.[2] The works of St. Athanasius bear a similar testimony. In describing a vigil-service which preceded the *Missa Fidelium*, the champion of Nicæa observes that a psalm was read by the deacon and that the congregation responded with the words *For His mercy endureth for ever*.[3] This is confirmed in a work of Macarius, who clearly alludes to the use of psalmody in such a service.[4]

The writings of St. Chrysostom concerning the Liturgy at Antioch contain no reference to psalmody, and consequently cannot be said to strengthen the present argument.[5] On the other hand, evidence has already been adduced to demonstrate that in the early Liturgy of Syria psalmody found a place.[6] St. Augustine mentions the singing of a psalm at the Offertory and at the Communion, but he tells us that this custom was introduced into Carthage in his own days.[7] Elsewhere in his works he speaks of a psalm which preceded the reading of the Gospel.[8] Further, a canon of the Council of Laodicea lends additional confirmation to the contention at issue.[9] In this canon reference is made to psalms with which certain lessons were to be interspersed. The reference is probably to be interpreted as applicable to the *Missa Catechumenorum*; yet it must

[1] *de Elia* x. 34. In *Ep.* 44, *ad Marcell.* the saint refers to lessons in the *Missa Catechumenorum*, but makes no allusion to psalmody.

[2] St. Basil, *on Psalm xxviii.*

[3] St. Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, 81; *de Fuga*, 24.

[4] Macarius, *de charitate*, 29.

[5] See Brightman, *ib.*, p. 477, n. 4.

[6] See p. 155.

[7] Srawley, in *The Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 219, suggests very reasonably that the psalm used at Communion in North Africa was xxxiv. Cf. the evidence of St. Cyril.

[8] St. Augustine, *Sermons* xlix, 1; clxxvi, 1.

[9] Canon XVII of the Council of Laodicea.

be admitted that the subject of legislation may possibly have been the choir-office and not the Mass. Definite evidence of psalmody in the *pro-anaphora* is furnished by the text usually known as *The Testament of our Lord.*[1] There are, however, reasons for doubting the trustworthiness of this record.

One more line of evidence may be noticed. The Roman rite in its earliest form is not extant. Fortunately, however, by the aid of the three Roman sacramentaries and other liturgical records, scholars have been enabled to reconstruct this rite as it existed in the sixth century.[2] At that period a psalm was sung at the Introit or Office, the Gradual, the Hallelujah (in penitential seasons the Tract), the Offertory and the Communion.[3] Traces of this Psalmody still remain and are clearly discernible in the Roman rite of the present day. The Introit, Gradual, Hallelujah and Offertory psalms have, in each instance, diminished to one verse. After the communion, in place of the antiphon and psalm formerly sung, there remains now only the antiphon.

In conclusion some words of a distinguished liturgiologist

[1] *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* Syriac text with a Latin translation published by Mgr. Rahmani, Uniat-Patriarch of Antioch. There is an English edition edited by J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean. An English translation is also given in Woolley, *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, pp. 159 ff. This Church-Order contains traces of an earlier liturgy.

[2] I refer to the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries. For the texts see *Liturgia Romana* Vetus of L. A. Muratori, Venice, 1748. The Canon of the Mass in the sixth century was very much the same as it is to-day; thus there existed at that date the *Communicantes*, the *Hanc igitur*, the *Quam oblationem*, and the *Per quem haec omnia.*

[3] The Roman rite at one time included a lesson from the Old Testament. This lesson was followed by the Gradual, after which the Epistle was sung. The Hallelujah or the Tract followed the Epistle. When the Old Testament lesson was no longer included in the Liturgy (except on special occasions, e.g. Ember Days, when it is still read at the present time), the Gradual was placed after the Epistle. Other rites also included an Old Testament lection, e.g. the Gallican Mass, which, it is interesting to note, included canticles—the Benedictus and the Benedicite—instead of psalms, in the *pro-anaphora.*

which aptly sum up the point at issue may be quoted. Mgr. Duchesne, in his *Origines du Culte chrétien* (p. 46), writes: 'Les assemblées religieuses des synagogues ne comportaient aucun sacrifice sanglant, aucune oblation de fruits, de prémices, d'encens. Les enfants d'Israël se réunissaient, non seulement pour prier en commun, mais encore pour lire leurs livres sacrés, la *Loi* d'abord, puis les *Prophètes*, c'est-à-dire les autres livres de la Bible. Outre les lectures, il y avait des chants, dont le texte était fourni par le *Psautier*. Un exercice moins essential, mais très pratiqué, c'était l'homélie (midrasch), sur un thème fourni par les lectures.

Ces quatre éléments, lectures, chants, homélies, prières, furent adoptés sans difficulté par les églises chrétiennes.'

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

NOTES ON THE TEMPLE ORCHESTRA

In Chapter iv of this essay, the subject of Hebrew *vocal* music has been considered. For the sake of completeness there may be added here a brief note upon the subject of the Temple-*orchestra*.

Although the Chronicler appears to imply that the Temple-singers played their own accompaniment (see 1 Chron. xv. 16), it would seem to be the case that throughout a greater part of the post-Exilic period there existed a special band of instrumentalists.

There were probably five instruments used in the Temple for the purpose of rendering liturgical worship. The cymbals (*m^e^ṣiltaim*) may be mentioned first. It is reasonable to suppose that they were similar to the cymbals (*ṣelṣ^e^lîm*) which were struck as a signal directing the musicians to commence their singing. Two stringed instruments also found a place in the orchestra, a kind of harp known as *kinnôr* and the psaltery, *nēbel*. Schürer noting the evidence of the Mishnah that there were never *less* than two of the latter used, and never more than six, while there were at least nine of the former and might possibly be any number more, draws the inference that the *kinnôr* was the leading instrument and that the *nēbel* occupied a subordinate position.[1] In the next place there were the trumpets (*ḥ^a^ṣôṣ^e^rôth*) blown, as it has been observed, by the priests at the prescribed pauses in the psalmody. Lastly, instruments of the reed type known as *ḥ^a^lîlîm* were sometimes used. A kind of flute was also in existence, but although this type of instrument was used on certain

[1] *H.J.P.* Div. II, vol. i, p. 272.

days of the three great Feasts, it was not used daily for the purpose of accompanying the psalmody. The orchestra of the Temple might be augmented on festivals.[1] At the three great Feasts the twenty-four courses officiated together: hence the need of extra instruments.[2]

[1] See *Erachin*, ii. 3–5.

[2] *Sukkah*, v. 6–8.

APPENDIX II

DID HEBREW MUSIC INFLUENCE THE WORSHIP OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH?

AMONG the so-called traditional synagogue-melodies in existence to-day, there must be several of considerable antiquity. But it is not an easy task to distinguish ancient from modern. Mr. Abrahams records an amusing instance of a so-called *traditional* melody which was actually composed in his presence.[1] Unfortunately the introduction of the *Piyyutim*, while tending to elaborate the synagogue-music, had the effect of relegating the psalmody to a somewhat subordinate position, with the result that many ancient melodies were completely lost. It is usually thought that the music used with the *Sephardic* rite is more ancient than that used with the *Ashkenazic* rite, but it would be unwise to dogmatize too rigidly upon such a point.

Bearing this in mind, we may ask whether the plain-song of the Christian Church can be said to reflect to any extent the influence of Hebrew music. Jewish influence was in many ways obviously a potent factor in the development of the early Christian Church.

St. Chrysostom supplies some information of singular interest, when he records that it was customary in his day to commence the liturgical reading from Genesis during the season of Lent. The month *Nisan* most probably marked the beginning of the triennial cycle; hence it is obvious that the lectionary arrangements of the Church were, at least to some extent, based upon Jewish precedent. Research would doubtless reveal further points of contact. In the present case, however, we are not concerned with

[1] *Some Permanent Values in Judaism*, p. 17.

such a line of investigation, except in so far as it enables us to infer that in the sphere of music Jewish influence upon the Christian Church was by no means inconsiderable. At this point we may note incidentally that arguments have sometimes been adduced on behalf of the theory that the melodies of the synagogue were dissimilar from those of the Temple, and that after the Temple had been destroyed the music formerly rendered in that edifice was no longer preserved.[1] The destruction of the Temple did involve the cessation of *instrumental* music, but the *vocal* music at one time heard within its walls may nevertheless have continued upon traditional lines in the synagogue. As it has already been observed, the instrumentation in Temple days had been merely accompaniment.

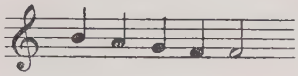
Here attention may be called to some slight evidence on behalf of this conclusion, by noting a few instances of striking parallelisms existing between certain portions of plain-chant and some ancient Hebrew melodies. The traditional melody for the *Shema'* contains this phrase :—

The musical idea conveyed by these notes corresponds closely with a chant to which the Gospel for Palm Sunday is sung throughout a large part of the Western Church :—

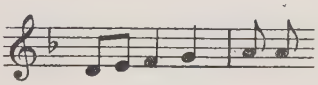
This phrase occurs frequently in synagogue-music. We find it, for instance, in a really ancient *Sephardic* tune for Psalm xcii :—

[1] See Ranken, art 'Music,' *H.D.C.G.*, vol. ii, p. 211.

A similar *motif* occurs in an *Ashkenazic* chant for Psalm cxliv.[1] This chant is considered to be of considerable antiquity. Here is the phrase to which I refer :—



Another *Ashkenazic* chant exhibits marked affinities with what is perhaps the most perfect piece of plain-song in existence, the *Exsultet* chant of Holy Saturday in the Roman Missal.[2] Lastly, there is an ancient traditional melody of the *Sephardic* rite for Psalm cxvii,



which clearly recalls the musical phrase sung at the conclusion of the *secreta* in the Mass of the Latin Communion, and on more than one occasion in the canon of the Roman Liturgy.[3]

[1] See F. L. Cohen, 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music,' in *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, 1887, p. 89.

[2] Art. 'Odeka,' *J.E.*, vol. ix, p. 376.

[3] A perusal of two books, De Sola and Aguilar, *Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, and Consolo, *Libro dei Canti d'Israel*, would furnish several other instances of parallelism.

APPENDIX III

A. QUOTATIONS FROM PHILO'S WRITINGS
B. TRANSLATION OF *MALKIYYOTH*

A

1. Fragment from Philo's writing preserved in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Book viii, ch. vii. The translation is that of Gifford in vol. iii of his edition, p. 359a.

What then did he (Moses) do on these seventh days ? He required them to assemble in the same place, and to sit down one with another in reverent and orderly manner, and listen to the laws, in order that none might be ignorant of them. And so in fact they do always meet together and sit down one with another, most of them in silence, except when it is customary to add a word of good omen to what is being read. But some priest who is present, or one of the old men, reads to them the holy laws, and explains each separately till nearly eventide : and after that they are allowed to depart with a knowledge of their holy laws, and with great improvement in piety.

2. The quotation from *De Septenario* to which Dr. Gibson refers is merely a reference to instruction in the virtues which is given on the Sabbath days.

For the text see Cohn's edition of Philo's Works, vol. v, p. 102.

3. Extract from Philo's *Quod omnis probus liber* ; also in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, and quoted from Gifford's translation, vol. iii, p. 382a.

For the seventh day is regarded as holy, and on it they abstain from their other works, and come to their holy places, which are called synagogues, and sit in ranks according to their ages, the young below the elder, and listen attentively in becoming order : and while some one takes and reads their sacred books, another of the most experienced comes forward and expounds all that is not easily intelligible. . . .

B

The special Benedictions known as *Malkiyyoth* which are inserted into the *Amidah*-prayer at *Rosh Ha-shanah* are introduced by the *Alenu*-prayer. The following translation is quoted from Singer, p. 248.

Conclusion of the Alenu-prayer :

Let all the inhabitants of the world perceive and know that unto Thee every knee must bow, every tongue must swear. Before Thee, O Lord our God, let them bow and fall; and unto thy glorious name let them give honour; let them all accept the yoke of thy kingdom, and do thou reign over them speedily, and for ever and ever. For the kingdom is thine, and to all eternity thou wilt reign in glory; as it is written in thy Law, the Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

Malkiyyoth :

And it is said, He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath He seen perverseness in Israel: the Lord his God is with him, and the trumpet shout of a king is among them. And it is said, And He became King in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people were gathered, the tribes of Israel together. And in thy Holy Words it is written saying, For the Kingdom is the Lord's, and He is ruler over the nations. And it is said, The Lord reigneth: He hath robed Him in majesty; the Lord hath robed Him, yea, He hath girded Himself with strength: the world also is set firm, that it cannot be moved. And it is said, Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may come in. Who, then, is the King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. Lift up your heads, O ye gates; yea, lift them up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may come in. Who, then, is the King of glory? The Lord of hosts, He is the King of glory. (Selah.) And by the hands of thy servants, the prophets, it is written, saying, Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel and his Redeemer, the Lord of hosts: I am the first, and I am the last; and beside Me there is no God. And it is said, And saviours shall come up on Mount Sion to judge the Mount of Esau, and the Kingdom shall be the Lord's. And it is said, And the Lord shall be King over all the earth: in that day shall the Lord be One and His name One. And in thy Law it is written saying, Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One.

The Biblical basis of this liturgical piece is obvious.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED IN PART I

BAETHGEN, F. W. A. *Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt* in *Handkommetar zum Alten Testament.* (Göttingen, 1904.)

BATTEN, L. W. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra-Nehemiah* in *The International Critical Commentary.* (Edinburgh, 1913.)

BENNETT, W. H. *The Books of Chronicles,* in *The Expositors' Bible.* (London, 1898.)

BOX, G. H. *A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* (*Oxford Church Text Books,* 1924.)

BOX, G. H. *The Book of Isaiah.* Newly translated with introductions, critical notes and explanations. (London, 1916.)

BOX, G. H., and OESTERLEY, W. O. E. See under OESTERLEY, W. O. E., and BOX, G. H.

BROWNE, L. E. *From Babylon to Bethlehem.* (Cambridge, 1926.)

CANNON, W. W. *The 68th Psalm,* comprising introduction and revised translation. (Cambridge, 1922.)

COHEN, A. *The Babylonian Talmud. Tractate Berākōt.* Translated into English with introduction and commentary. (Cambridge, 1921.)

CORNILL, C. H. *Music in the Old Testament.* Translation by L. G. Robinson. (Chicago, 1909.)

CURTIS, E. L. (and MADSEN, A. A.). *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles,* in *The International Critical Commentary.* (Edinburgh, 1910.)

DELITZSCH, F. *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms.* Translated by D. Eaton, in *The Foreign Biblical Library.* (Edinburgh, 1887.)

DRIVER, S. R. *The Book of Daniel,* with introduction and notes, in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools.* (Cambridge, 1877.)

DRIVER, S. R. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* in *The International Theological Library.* (1891.)

EDERSHEIM, A. *The Temple, its Ministry and Services as they were at the Time of Jesus Christ.* (London, 1909.)

ELMSLIE, W. A. L. *The Books of Chronicles,* in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools.* (Cambridge, 1915.)

FARRELL, H. P. *An Introduction to Political Philosophy.* (London, 1917).

FRIEDLÄNDER, M. *The Jewish Religion.* (London, 1891.)

GEVAERT, F. A. and VOLLGRAFF, J. C. *Les Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote.* (Gand, 1903.)

GRÄTZ, H. *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen nebst Text und Uebersetzung.* 2 Vols. (Breslau, 1882, 1883.)

GRAY, G. B. *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry, considered with special reference to the Criticism and Interpretation of the Old Testament.* (London, 1915.)

HART, J. H. A. *Ecclesiasticus.* The Greek text of Codex 248. Edited with a textual commentary and prolegomena. (Cambridge, 1909.)

HITZIG, F. *Die Psalmen, Historischer und Kritischer Commentar nebst Uebersetzung.* 2 Parts. (Heidelberg, 1863.)

HUNTER, P. H. *After the Exile. A Hundred Years of Jewish History and Literature.* (London, 1890.)

KAUTZSCH, E. F. *An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament.* Translation by J. Taylor. (London, 1898.)

MARGOLIOUTH, D. S. *The Works of Flavius Josephus.* Translated by W. Whiston and newly edited by D. S. Margoliouth. (London, 1906.)

MONRO, D. B. *The Modes of Ancient Greek Music.* (Oxford, 1894.)

MOWINCKEL, S. *Psalmenstudien:* Vol. ii. *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie.* Vol. iv. *Die Technischen Termini in den Psalmenüberschriften.* (Kristiania, 1922 and 1923.)

NAUMANN, E. *History of Music.* Translated by F. Praeger, and edited by Sir F. A. G. Ouseley. 2 Vols. (London, 1900.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. *The Psalms in the Jewish Church.* (London, 1910.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E., and BOX, G. H. *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue.* 2nd Edition. (London, 1911.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E., and BOX, G. H. *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediæval Judaism.* (London, 1920.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E., and BOX, G. H. *The Book of Sirach. Introduction and Exegesis in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* edited by R. H. Charles and other scholars. 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1913.)

PEAKE, A. S. *Jeremiah and Lamentations,* in *The Century Bible.* 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1901.)

PETERS, J. P. *The Psalms as Liturgies.* The Paddock Lectures for 1920. (London, 1922.)

RYLE, H. E. *The Canon of the Old Testament, an Essay on the Gradual Growth and Formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture.* (London, 1892.)

RYLE, H. E. *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah,* in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools.* (Cambridge, 1901.)

SANDAY, W. *Inspiration.* Eight Lectures on the Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration. Bampton Lectures for 1893. (London, 1893.)

SCHECHTER, S. *Studies in Judaism.* (First Series.) (London, 1896.)

SCHÜRER, E. *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.* English translation. 5 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1896.)

SMITH, J. M. POWIS. *The Religion of the Psalms.* (Chicago, 1922.)

SMITH, W. ROBERTSON. *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.* A course of Lectures on Biblical Criticism. (London, 1892.)

STAINER, J. *Music of the Bible, with an Account of the Development of Modern Musical Instruments from Ancient Types.* (London, 1879.)

STEUERNAGEL, D. C. *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* mit einem Anhang über die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen. (Tübingen, 1912.)

THACKERAY, H. ST. JOHN. *Josephus,* with an English translation. Vol. I. (New York, 1926.)

THACKERAY, H. ST. JOHN. *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship.* A Study in Origins. Schweich Lectures for 1920. (London, 1921.)

THACKERAY, H. ST. JOHN. Essay on *Josephus,* in *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity.* (London, 1924.)

THACKERAY, H. ST. JOHN. *The Letter of Aristeas.* Translated by H. St. John Thackeray in *Translations of Early Documents.* (London, 1917.)

TORREY, C. C. *Ezra Studies.* (Chicago, 1910.)

WELLHAUSEN, J. *The Prolegomena to the History of Israel.* English translation. (Edinburgh, 1885.)

WELLHAUSEN, J. *The Book of Psalms,* in *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.* (London, 1898.)

BALL, C. J. *Psalm lxviii. J.T.S.,* vol. xi, 1910.

BOX, G. H. *The Day of Atonement in the Temple according to Rabbinical Tradition.* Church and Synagogue, vols. xi and xii, 1909–10.

BREWER, J. A. *Review on Batten's Commentary on the Books o Ezra-Nehemiah. A.J.T.,* vol. xix, 1915.

DRIVER, S. R. *The Speeches in Chronicles. The Expositor.* 5th Series.

HOGG, H. W. *Amen. J.Q.R.,* vol. ix, 1897.

NEUBAUER, A. Essay on *The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish Authorities,* in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica,* vol. ii. (Oxford, 1885.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. *Jewish Use of the Psalter.* Church and Synagogue, vol. ix, 1907.

PERITZ, I. J. *Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult. J.B.L.,* vol. xvii, 1898.

PETERS, J. P. *Notes on The Pilgrim Psalter. J.B.L.*, vol. xiii, 1894.
PETERS, J. P. *The Development of the Psalter. New World*, vol. ii, 1893.

ADENEY, W. F. *Blessing. H.D.B.*
BAUDISSIN, W. *Priests and Levites. H.D.B.*
BOX, G. H. *Temple Service. E.B.*
BOX, G. H. *Worship* (Hebrew). *H.D.R.E.*
DAVISON, W. T. *Book of Psalms. H.D.B.*
EISENSTEIN, J. D. *Prayer. J.E.*
MILLAR, J. *Music. H.D.B.*
PRINCE, J. D. *Music. E.B.*
SELBIE, J. A. *Praise in Old Testament. H.D.B.*
STEWART, G. WAUCHOPE. *Music* (Hebrew). *H.D.R.E.*

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED IN PART II

ABRAHAMS, I. Annotation of *Singer's Authorised Prayer Book*, with historical and explanatory notes and additional matter. (London, 1912.)

ABRAHAMS, I. *Festival Studies*, being thoughts on the Jewish Year. (London, 1906.)

BOX, G. H. *The Book of Isaiah*. Newly translated with introductions, critical notes and explanations. (London, 1916.)

BRIGGS, C. A. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, in *The International Critical Commentary*. (Edinburgh, 1906, etc.)

CHEYNE, T. K. *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter in the Light of Old Testament Criticism and the History of Religions*. The Bampton Lectures for 1889. (London, 1891.)

DAVIS, A. *Service of the Synagogue*. (A new edition of the Festival Prayers with an English translation in prose and verse.) Vol. ii. *The Day of Atonement*. (London, 1904, etc.)

DELITZSCH, F. *Iris, Farbenstudien und Blumenstücke*. (Leipzig, 1888.)

DEMBITZ, L. N. *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home*. Jewish Publication Society of America. (Philadelphia, 1898.)

DE SOLA, D.A., and RAPHALL, M. J. *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishnah*. Translated by D. A. de Sola. (London, 1845.)

EHRT, C. *Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters*, zür Prüfung der Frage nach Makkabäerpsalmen historischkritisch untersucht. (Leipzig, 1869.)

ELBOGEN, I. *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. (Berlin, 1924.)

JASTROW, M. *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* in *Handbooks on the History of Religions*, vol. ii. (Boston, 1898.)

KING, E. G. *The Asaph Psalms*, in their connexion with the early religion of Babylonia. Hulsean Lectures for 1889. (Cambridge, 1890.)

KING, E. G. *The Psalms in Three Collections*. Translated with notes by E. G. King. (Cambridge, 1898, etc.)

LATTEY, C. *Texts illustrating Ancient Ruler-Worship*. English translation, with explanations. 2 Parts. (London, 1924.)

MONIER-WILLIAMS, M. *Religious Thought and Life in India*. An account of the religions of the Indian Peoples. (Oxford, 1883, etc.)

MONTEFIORE, C. G. *The Book of Psalms*. (London, 1901.)

MOWINCKEL, S. *Psalmenstudien :* Vol. ii. *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie.* (Kristiania, 1922.) (Also referred to in Part I.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E., and BOX, G. H. *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue.* 2nd Edition. (London, 1911.) (Also referred to in Part I.)

SCHECHTER, S. *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology.* (London, 1909.)

SMITH, W. ROBERTSON. *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites.* (London, 1914.)

STEUERNAGEL, D. C. *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* mit einem Anhang über die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen. (Tübingen, 1912.) (Also referred to in Part I.)

THACKERAY, H. ST. JOHN. *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship.* A Study in Origins. Schweich Lectures for 1920. (London, 1921.) (Also referred to in Part I.)

WRIGHT, C. H. H. *Zechariah and His Prophecies.* The Bampton Lectures for 1878. (London, 1879.)

BOX, G. H. Review on *Mowinckel : Psalmenstudien,* vol. ii, *C.Q.R.,* vol. c, 1925.

BÜCHLER, A. *The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle* (2 articles). *J.Q.R.,* vol. v, 1893.

CHEYNE, T. K. *Hallel. The Expositor,* Fourth Series, vol. i.

FRIEDMANN, M. *The New Year and its Liturgy. J.Q.R.,* vol. i, 1888.

GUNKEL, H. *Psalmen,* in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* (Tübingen, 1913.)

HOSCHANDER, J. *Survey of Recent Biblical Literature. J.Q.R.,* vol. xvi, 1926.

KING, E. G. *The Influence of the Triennial Cycle upon the Psalter. J.T.S.,* vol. v, 1904.

KINGSBURY, T. L. *The New Year of the Synagogue and its Lessons for the Church.* Church and Synagogue, vol. i, 1896.

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. *The Minor Prophets—Haggai.* Church and Synagogue, vol. ii, 1900.

THACKERAY, H. ST. JOHN. *The Song of Hannah and other Lessons for the Jewish New Year's Day. J.T.S.,* vol. xvi, 1915.

BOX, G. H. *Blessing. H.D.C.G.,* vol. i.

COHEN, F. L. *Hallel. J.E.,* vol. vi.

JACOBS, J. *The Triennial Cycle. J.E.,* vol. xii.

KOHLER, K. *Ḥanukkah. J.E.,* vol. vi.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED IN PART III

ABRAHAMS, I. Annotation of *Singer's Authorised Prayer Book*, with historical and explanatory notes and additional matter. (London, 1912.)

ABRAHAMS, I. *Some Permanent Values in Judaism.* (Oxford, 1924.)

BAER, S. *Seder Abodath Israel.* (Roedelheim, 1868.)

BATIFFOL, P. *Histoire du Bréviaire romain.* (Paris, 1893.)

BICKELL, G. *Messe und Pascha.* See under SKENE, W. F.

BOX, G. H. *Spiritual Teaching and Value of the Jewish Prayer Book*, in *Judaism and Beginnings of Christianity.* (London, 1906.)

BRIGHTMAN, F. E. *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, edited with Introduction and Appendices. (Oxford, 1896.)

BRÜLL, N. Review on Güdemann's *Geschichte des Erziehungs . . . Mittelalters*, in *Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Litteratur*, viii Jahrgang. (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1887.)

CHEYNE, T. K. *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.* (New York, 1898.)

COHEN, A. *Jewish History in the First Century*, in *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity.* (London, 1923.)

COOPER, J., and MACLEAN, A. J. *The Testament of Our Lord.* Translated with Introduction and Notes. (Edinburgh, 1902.)

DUCHESNE, L. *Origines du culte chrétien.* (Paris, 1889.)

ELBOGEN, I. *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung.* (Berlin, 1924.)

FRIEDLÄNDER, M. *Synagogue und Kirche in ihren Anfängen.* (Berlin, 1908.)

GÜDEMANN, M. *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italian während des Mittelalters.* (Wien, 1884.)

KRÜGER, P. *Hellenismus und Judenthum im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter.* (Leipzig, 1908.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy.* (Oxford, 1925.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. *The Psalms in the Jewish Church.* (London, 1910.)

OESTERLEY, W. O. E., and BOX, G. H. *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediæval Judaism.* (London, 1920.)

PETERS, J. P. *The Religion of the Hebrews.* (Boston, 1895.)

RACKHAM, R. B. *The Acts of the Apostles.* (London, 1908.)

ROBINSON, H. WHEELER. *The Social Life of the Psalmists.* Essay in *The Psalmists.* (London, 1926.)

SKENE, W. F. *The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual*, being a translation of the substance of Prof. Bickell's *Messe und Pascha*. (Edinburgh, 1891.)

SRAWLEY, J. H. *The Early History of the Liturgy*. (Cambridge, 1913.)

WOOLLEY, R. M. *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church*. (Cambridge, 1910.)

BOX, G. H. *The Jewish Prayer Book*. Church and Synagogue, vol. vii, 1905.

BOX, G. H. *Survey of Recent Literature*. Review of Theology and Philosophy, 1910.

BOX, G. H. *St. Peter in the Jewish Liturgy*. Expository Times. vol. xv, 1903.

GIBSON, E. C. S. *On the Relation of Christian to Jewish Worship*. The Expositor, Fourth Series, vol. ii.

KOHLER, K. *Ueber die Ursprünge und Grundformen der synagogalen Liturgie* in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. 37, 1893.

MARGOLIOUTH, G. *Spanish Service Books in the British Museum*. *J.Q.R.*, vol. xvi, 1904.

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. *Jewish Use of the Psalter*. Church and Synagogue, vol. ix, 1907.

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. *The Worship of the Ancient Synagogue with Special Reference to the use of the Psalms*. Church and Synagogue, vol. xii, 1910.

THACKERAY, H. St. JOHN. *Psalm lxxvi and other Psalms for the Feast of Tabernacles*. *J.T.S.*, vol. xv, 1914.

BACHER, W. *Synagogue*. *J.E.*, vol. xi.

DEMBITZ, L. N. *Geullah*. *J.E.*, vol. v.

DEMBITZ, L. N. *Nishmat*. *J.E.*, vol. ix.

KOHLER, K. *Ahabah Rabbah*, *J.E.*, vol. i.

INDEXES

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

PAGE

עבת 122
Accession, Feast of . . . . . Chapters VIII, IX, X, XI
עד 120
Agapé 153
Ahabah 151
Alexander the Great. 28
Alfasi 146
'al^a^lāmôth 48–50
'al-ha-sh^e^mînîth 48–50
'alumôth 49
Amen, use of word 60, 62
Amidah prayer . . . . . See *Shemoneh 'Esreh*
Amram Prayer Book 147, 148
Anaphora 155
Antiochus Epiphanes 29, 106, 124
Antiochian persecution 127, 133
Antiphonal singing 63–66
Aquila 42
Aramaic documents 32
Aristeas, letter of—its value and limitations 69, 70
Ark, the 86, 87, 94, 95, 102, 103
Artaxerxes II 44
Asaph 25, 55
Ascents, Songs of 45, 65, 95, 137
Ashkenazic rite . . . . . 146, 147, and Appendix II
Asiph 81, 85, 105
Atonement, Day of . . . . . See *Yom Kippur*
Authorized Version 35

Baal 106, 119
baal 85
Benedictions 74, 99, 146, 147, 150, 151, 154
Beth-zur 115
Blessing of Priests 154
Blessing of Song 139, 140

Candlestick (Temple) 109
Canonicity 44, 45
Ceremonial Law 31

PAGE
Chalaphta, R. José ben 149
Choirs (Temple) 24, 25, 54–56, 139
Chronicler—his evidence and its value 23, 30–33, 35, 37–39, 102, 103
Chronicles, Maccabæan redaction of 30
diction of 39, 58
Commandments, the 74, 151
Corner-stone 117, 118
Courses (liturgical) . . . . 26, 27, 30, 138, and Appendix I
Creation, conception of 83, 88, 89, 99, 100
Cymbals 75

Daniel, task of 29
Dedication, conception of 105
Deutero-Isaiah, influence of 112, 114
Deuteronomic records 44
Diaspora-synagogues 131–133, 135, 136
Drama (liturgical) 83, 92
Drink-offering 76

Edomites 30
Ego of Psalter 143
Egyptian ceremonies 93
Elijah 119
Elohistic records 44
Ethan 25, 65
Ethrog 121
Exodus, conception of 99, 100, 124
Exsultet 165
Ezra (scribe) 32, 44, 61
age of 126

Festreigen 122
Fire, conception of 120
Formulæ (liturgical) 63, 64
Future, conception of 91, 98

Gamaliel, Rabban 113
Genizah-fragments 147
Gesenius 123
Geullah 152
Gifts, distribution of 87
Greek language, use of 132
Greek music . . . . . See under *Music*

PAGE
Greek period 34, 124
Guild psalters 27

חג 120–123
Hallel 66, 94, 96, 105, 113, 114, 123, 125, 140
Hallelujah Psalms 126, 127
'Hall of Polished Stones' 74
Hannah, Song of 82
Hannania, R. Joshua ben 139
Ḥanukkah, Feast of . . . . . Chapters XII, XIII, XIV
Haphtarah 108–110, 117, 118, 154
Harmony . . . . . See under *Music*
Harvest 49, 84, 85, 90, 105
Ḥasidim 127
Hecatæus of Abdera 70
Hêkal 139
Hellenism, influence of 28, 51, 132
Heman 25, 55, 65
Hezekiah 61
High Priest 69, 71, 75, 100
Hodu-sacrifice 148
Holiness, Law of 45
Horns of the Altar 120, 122
Hyrcanus, John 31

Ingathering, Feast of . . . . . See *Asiph*

Jahvistic records 44
Jeduthun 25, 55
Jehoiarib 30
Jeremiah (Prophet) 42
Jerome (Saint) 42, 136
Johanan, R. 140
José, R. 113
Josephus—nature of evidence 71, 72
Judah, R. 140
Judas Maccabæus 56, 105, 106, 115, 126
Judgement, conception of 83, 88–91, 98, 100

Kings, evidence of author of 102, 103
Kingship, conception of . . 83–85, 88, 89, 93, 94, 96, 99–101, 103, 104, 116
Kingship, Catholic Feast of 104
Kisleu 106

PAGE

Kiss of Peace 154
Kôdesh 139

Lamed, use of letter 25
Law, reading of 154
Leannoth 65
Levi, Rabbi 100
Leviathan. 100, 101
Levites 23–27, 48, 65, 75, 76, 138
Light, conception of 89, 105, 108, 115, 119
Lulab 121

Maccabæan period 30, 31, 89, 114, 124, 127
psalmists 126
redaction of Chronicles 30
redaction of Psalter 127
Magrephah 76
Maimonides 66
Malkiyyoth . . . . . 99 and Appendix III
Marduk 90
Mass 153
pro-anaphoral portion of 154–157
(Syrian) in Fourth Century 155
Maḥzor Vitry 150
Meal (religious) 85, 86
Memorial, conception of 98
Missa Catechumenorum 153–156
Missa Fidelium 154–156
Moses, Song of 76, 150
Music—antiphonal, of psalms 63–66
harmony in Hebrew 51, 52
influence of Greek and Roman 28, 51–53
of psalm-melodies . . . . . 52–54 and Appendix II
relation between Hebrew and that of Early Christian Church . . . . . Appendix II
rubrics of 25–27, 41, 48–50, 53, 65, 76, 111
of Temple orchestra . . . . . Appendix I
tonal system of 47, 50
(unison), Chronicler's apparent reference to . . . 50
Musicians, order of 25, 26, 75
Mythology 84, 91, 92, 100, 101

Nehemiah 23, 24, 45
age of 124, 126

PAGE
Nesek 75
New Song . . . . . See Psalms: theocratic
New Year Festival . . . . . See *Rosh Ha-shanah*
Nisan 163
Nishmat 139, 140

οἶκος προσευχῆς 133
Osiris 93

Palestinian synagogues 132–137
Passover, Feast of 113, 139
Pentecost, Feast of 56
Persian dualism, influence of 151
Persian period 23, 24, 95
Pharisees 108
Piyyut 146, 163
Precentor 25, 46, 65
Priestly records 31, 44, 45, 61
Priests, ministrations of 71
Procession (liturgical) 49, 89, 93, 96, 116, 121, 122
of Ark 86, 87, 95, 102, 103
of palms 101, 105, 121, 122
of torchlights 105
of the Divine King . . . 83, 87, 92, 94
προσευκτήριον 133
προσευχή 133, 134
Psalmody, three landmarks in history of 126
Psalm—incorporation of liturgical rubric in 121
(uncanonical), in Sirach 66
Psalms—antiphonal singing of 63–66
daily use of 75, 137
diction of 58
Hallelujah 126, 127
liturgical collections of 24, 54, 126
melodies of 52, 53, 54
of Accession 90, 91
of Ascents 45, 65, 95, 137
private and personal use of 143
rubrics of . . 25–27, 36, 41, 48–50, 53, 65, 76, 111, 121
Sabbath and festival psalms of synagogue liturgy . 148
selection of, used in synagogue worship 137
theocratic 39, 45, 88, 89
use of, in time of Chronicler 40, 44
Psalter, as Temple hymnal 142

PAGE

Psalter, Maccabæan redaction of 127
text of, in state of fluidity 40–44
influence on liturgical worship 58
Ptolemy Philadelphus 69
Purim 124

Ram's Horn, sounding of 98
Rashi 125
Re-dedication, Feast of . . . . . See *Hanukkah*
Redemption, conception of 141
Red Sea, Song of the 137
Remembrance, conception of 98, 99, 100
Rite (Roman) 157, 165
Rosh Ha-shanah . . . . . Chapters VIII, IX, X, XI
Rubrics 25–27, 36, 41, 48–50, 53, 65, 76, 111, 121

Sabbaths (' extraordinary ') 107
Sacrifice (daily) . . . . . 74 ff.
Hodu 148
private . . . . . 76 (note)
Salvation, conception of 89, 99, 100
Samaritans, their rejection of the prophetical writings . . . 108
Scribes, unreliability of 42
Scriptures, allegorical method of interpretation 132
Secrets of Yahweh 49, 91, 92
Selā . . . . . 27 (note), 41, 76
Sephardic rite . . . . . 146 and Appendix II
LXX Version. 27, 36, 41, 49, 65, 116
Shelter, idea of 100
Shema' 74, 132, 151, 164
Shemoneh 'Esreh 99, 125, 132, 144, 151, 152, 154
Shîr 111
Shofar 98, 99
Simon Maccabæus 126
Solstice (winter) 81, 106, 119
Sukkoth, Feast of . 89, 93, 94, 97, 100, 101, 105, 115, 120, 121
Sun-god 106, 119
Symmachus 42
Synagogues, daily morning service of . 76 and Chapter XVII
(*Diaspora*) 131–136
melodies used in . . . . . Appendix II
(Palestinian) 132–137
sanctity of 139
two-fold aspect of 131

PAGE
Synagogues, purposes used for . . . 134, 135, 138, 143, 144
συναγωγή 133

Tabernacles, Feast of . . . . . See *Sukkoth*
Temple (Herodian) 96
illumination of 89, 105, 106
(second) 59, 61, 117, 119
service of prayer at daily sacrifice 74, 151
(Solomon's) 61, 87, 102, 118, 120
Temple-choirs 24, 25, 54–56, 139
Temple-lights, rekindling of 115
Temple-liturgy, fluidity at time of Chronicler 60
Temple-musicians . . . . . 25, 26, 75 and Appendix I
Temple-worship, congregational aspect of . . . 29, 54, 60–64
interest of Chronicler in 33
Tephillah 152
Theocratic psalms 39, 45, 88, 89
Theodotion 42
Therapeutæ 134
Thronbesteigungsfest . . . . . See *Accession Feast*
Tisri 81, 98
Triennial Cycle 82, 106, 107, 109, 110
Trumpets, use of . . . . . 51, 76, 86 and Appendix I
Trumpets, Feast of . . . . . See *Rosh Ha-shanah*

Vigil Service of Early Christian Church 153, 154, 156

Women and Temple Choirs 54–56

Yemenite Prayer Book 148
Yom Kippur 69, 97, 98, 100

Zemiroth . . . . . Chapter XVII
Zerubbabel 117
Zikronoth 99

INDEX OF ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES

OLD TESTAMENT

	PAGE
Genesis.	
xlvi. 28	107
Exodus.	
xv.	76, 137
xv. 18	149
Leviticus.	
ix. 24	120
xxiv.	108
Numbers.	
vii. 84	107
viii. 1	107
Deuteronomy.	
vi. 4	150
xv. 20	85
xxvi. 1 ff.	85
xxxii.	76
1 Samuel.	
i. 4	85
ix. 13	86
xviii. 7	63
2 Samuel.	
vi.	86, 102
xxiv. 1	32
1 Kings.	
vii.	110
viii.	87, 102
xviii. 39	119
1 Chronicles.	
v. 20	59
ix. 25–27	26
xi. 16 ff.	26
xii. 33	59
xiv. 26	136
1 Chronicles (*contd.*)	PAGE
xv. 17	25
xv. 19	75
xvi.	Chapter III
xvii. 16	60
xix. 10 ff.	59
xxi. 1	32
xxiii. 5	47
xxiii. 6	26
xxiii. 30	59
xxiv. 7	30
xxv. 5, 6	55
xxv. 7	47
xxv. 8	25, 26
xxix. 10, 12	59
2 Chronicles.	
ii. 5	59
v. 13	50, 59
vi. 2, 14 and 42	59
vii. 3	59, 61
xiv. 11 ff.	59
xx.	59
xxi. 10	30
xxix. 28, 29	61
xxx. 9	59
xxxv.	54
Ezra.	
ii. 65b	54
iii. 9–11	63
iii. 11	59, 61
iv. 7 to vii. 26	32
vi. 18	26
ix. 6, 7–14	59
x. 23, 24	26
Nehemiah.	
i. 6	59
iv. 4–8	59
v. 13	59, 61

NEHEMIAH (*contd.*) PAGE
vii. 67b 54
viii. 87, 137
viii. 5, 6 62
viii. 6 59
ix. 6 ff. 59, 60
x. 3–9 30
xi. 17 59
xii. 1–7 30
xii. 17–21 30
xii. 24, 31 and 40 . . 63
xii. 27 92

JOB.
vii. 12 84

PSALMS.
i. 5 144
v. 53
vi. 48
viii. 53
ix. 41, 53
ix. 9 37
x. 41
x. 16 149
xix. 41
xxii. 53
xxii. 29 150
xxiii. 156
xxiv. 94–96
xxvi. 6 155
xxvi. 12 144
xxix. 89
xxx. 111
xxxiii. 89
xxxiv. 89, 90, 155
xlii. 41
xliii. 41
xliv. 41, 127
xlv. 53
xlvi. 48
xlvii. 88
xlviii. 49, 91
l. 90
liii. 53
lvi. 53
lvii. 53
lviii. 53
lix. 53

PSALMS (*contd.*) PAGE
lx. 53
lxv. 90
lxvii. 90
lxviii. 55, 56
lxix. 53
lxxiv. 8 132
lxxv. 53
lxxvi. 144
lxxx. 53
lxxxi. 53, 90
lxxxii. 90
lxxxiv. 25, 53
lxxxv. 90
lxxxviii. 65
lxxxix. 25, 43
lxxxix. 7 144
lxxxix. 10 84
xcii. 164
xciii. 149
xcv. 88
xcvi. . . . 36–39, 76, 88
xcviii. 88
c. 148
civ. 84
cv. 37, 76
cvi. 38, 39
cvi. 48 62
cvii. 32 144
cxi. 1 144
cxiii. . . . 114, 116, 124
cxiii.–cxviii.
Chapter XIII (*passim*)
cxiv. . . . 66, 90, 114, 124
cxv. 114
cxvi. 85, 124
cxvii. 165
cxviii. . . 66, 94, 96, 114–123
cxxvi. 90
cxxxii. 90, 94–96
cxxxiv. 65
cxxxvi. 66
cxliv. 165
cxlv.–cl. 149, 150
cxlix. 89
cxlix. 1 144

PROVERBS.
xix. 21 149

ISAIAH. PAGE
li. 9, 10 84
lx. 1 136
lxiv. 9–11 24
lxv. 8 53

JEREMIAH.
viii. 8b 42

DANIEL.
iii. 5 29
ix. 4 ff. 59

OBADIAH. PAGE
i. 21 150

ZEPHANIAH.
i. 110

ZECHARIAH.
iii. 117
iii. 10 118
iv. 117
iv. 2 ff. 109
xiv. 9 150

APOCRYPHA

TOBIT.
viii. 8 61

SIRACH.
xxxvi. 11 152
xlv. 6–13 69
l. 67
l. 16–17 61
li. 66

1 MACCABEES.
ii. 1 30
iv. 33 115

1 MACCABEES (*contd.*)
iv. 55 61
iv. 58 119
iv. 59 ff.. 125
xiii. 50 127
xiv. 29 30

2 MACCABEES.
i. 17 ff.. 115
i. 21 120

3 MACCABEES.
vii. 20 133

PSEUDEPIGRAPH

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS.
xxxi. 70

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS (*contd.*)
lxxxiii.–cxx. 70
xcii. 71

NEW TESTAMENT

ST. MATTHEW.
iv. 23 134
vi. 5 135
ix. 35 134
xiii. 54 134

ST. MARK.
i. 21, 22, 39 134
vi. 2 134

ST. LUKE.
i. 8 ff. 71
iv. 15–21 134
iv. 31, 32, 44 135
vi. 6 135
xiii. 10 135

ACTS.
iv. 24 136
ix. 20 135
xiii. 5, 14 ff., 27 . . . 135
xiv. 1 135
xv. 21 135
xvii. 2, 17 135
xviii. 4, 19, 26 135

1 CORINTHIANS.
xiv. 26 136

EPHESIANS.
v. 14 136

RABBINICAL LITERATURE

MIDRASHIM. PAGE

Pesikta 158a 145
Pesikta Rabbati 110
c. 25 . . . 145

MISHNAH.

Berakoth v. 5 144
Erachin ii. 3–5 162
Megillah iv. 1, 9. 144
Pesaḥim x. 7. 139
cxviiia 140
Rosh Ha-shanah iv. 9 . . 144
Sotah vii. 1 132
Sukkah iv. 5–7 . . 93, 94, 121
v. 6–8 162
Taanith iv. 1–4 26

MISHNAH (*contd.*) PAGE

Tamid iii. 4 144
v. 1 ff. . . . 74, 151
Yoma 69

BABYLONIAN TALMUD.

Berakoth 60
59b 140
Erachin 10b 124
11b 139
Shabbath 21b 125
Taanith 16b 62

MINOR TRACTATE OF THE TALMUD.

Sopherim 145
xiv. 8 149

PATRISTIC EVIDENCE

St. Ambrose.
de Elia x. 34 156
Ep. xxii. 4, 7 155
Ep. xliv. *ad Marcell.* . . . 156

St. Athanasius.
Hist. Arian 81 156
de Fuga 24 156

St. Augustine.
Sermons xlix. 1 156
clxxvi. 1 156

St. Basil.
On Psalm xxvii 156

St. Cyril of Jerusalem.
Catechetical Lectures xxiii. 155

Tertullian.
de anima, ch. ix 155

Marcarius.
de charitate, 29 156

Apostolic Constitutions.
Eighth Book. 155

Council of Laodicea.
Canon XVII 156

Testament of Our Lord . . 157

CLASSICAL HISTORIANS

ARISTOTLE

Prob. (Append.) 17, 18 . . 52
39 . . 52

JOSEPHUS.

Ant. VII. xii. 3 72
VIII. iii. 8 72
XII. vii. 7 106
XIV. x. 23 133
Bell. Jud. V. v. 8 72
V. v. 73
VII. iii. 3 . . . 134
Cont. Ap. I. xxiii 70
II. viii. . 26 (note)
Vita liv 133

PHILO.

De Septenario vi. 133 and Appendix III
De Vita Cont. iii. 10 . . 134
In Flacc. vi. 7, 14 133
xiv 134
Leg. ad Gaium xx, xxiii, xliii, xlvi. 133
Quod om. prob. lib. xii. 133 and Appendix III
Vita Mos. iii. 27. 133

EUSEBIUS.

Præp. evang. VIII. vii. 133 and Appendix III

GTU LIBRARY
3 2400 00543 9181

DM3
K258
22160
Keet, C.C.
Liturgical
Study of the
Psalter

GTU Library
2400 Ridge Road
Berkeley, CA 94709
For renewals call (510) 649-2500
All items are subject to recall.